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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. VII.

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PREFACE.

THE long interval since the last issue of our collections has been occasioned by various circumstances. The recent war proving a serious embarrassment in the work of publication ; the lamented removal by death of the accomplished and efficient editor of the preceding volumes ; the slow accumulation of materials for a new issue ; and the distinct enterprise undertaken by the Society, under the auspices of the state government, of a series of volumes on the Documentary History of Maine ; have contributed to arrest this special work of the Society.

The publication of this volume was committed to the direction of the subscribers, the supervision of the press being assigned to Rev. Dr. Dike. It has been the endeavor of the committee, as will be seen, to fulfil one object of the Society, which is to secure biographical notices of deceased associates, who by their lives have laid the Society under obligation to perpetuate the remembrance of their public service by fitting commemoration. Efforts have been made in vain to obtain notices of others who have been prominent in the annals of the Society, which, it is hoped, may appear in another volume. The writers of the papers alone are responsible for the views which they advance.

A. S. PACKARD.

SAMUEL F. DIKE.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII.

CONTENTS.

ARTICLE.	PAGE.
I.—Ancient Penobscot. By Hon. John E. Godfrey, of Bangor	1
II.—Pilgrims of the Penobscot. By the same.....	23
III.—Baron de St. Castin. By the same.....	39
IV.—Castin the Younger. By the same.....	73
V.—Bashaba and the Tarratines. By the same.....	93
VI.—Garrison Houses ; York County. By the late Hon. Edward Emerson Bourne, of Kennebunk.....	107
VII.—Journal of the Attack on the British Forces, July, 1779; from the Nova Scotia Gazette, Halifax. Communicated by Joseph Williamson, Esq., of Belfast.....	121
VIII.—Pemaquid in its Relations to our Colonial History. Address, by B. F. Hough, M. D., Lowville, N. Y., at the 267th anniversary of the landing of the Popham Colony, August, 1874.....	127
IX.—Materials for a History of Fort Halifax. Copies, &c., from documents in the office of the Secretary of State of Massachusetts. By Joseph Williamson, Esq., of Belfast.....	165
X.—Proposed Province of New Ireland. By the same.	199
XI.—Slavery in Maine. By the same.....	207
XII.—Religious Denominations in Maine at the close of the Revolution. From the papers of Hon. Wm. D. Williamson. By the same.....	217

ARTICLE.	PAGE.
XIII.—Notices of the Powell Family. Extracts from manuscripts of T. D. Powell, of North Yarmouth...	231
XIV.—Origin of Article VIII., Literature, in the Constitution of Maine. By Hon. S. P. Benson, of Yarmouth.....	239
XV.—Champlain's Voyages, 1604, 5 and 6, in the Gulf of Maine. By Gen. John M. Brown, of Falmouth.....	245
XVI.—Now and Then. By the late William Allen, Esq., of Norridgewock.....	267
XVII.—Popham's Town of Fort St. George. By Rufus K. Sewall, Esq., of Wiscasset.....	291
XVIII.—Memoir of Col. Benjamin Burton. By Joseph Williamson, Esq., of Belfast.....	323
XIX.—Acadia and its Aborigines. By Rev. Eugene Vetroville, S. J., of Worcester, Mass.....	337
XX.—Bingham Land. By William Allen, Esq., late of Norridgewock.....	351
XXI.—Proceedings of the Society; with Biographical Sketches of Deceased Members. Hon. Robert P. Dunlap, 367; Rev. J. W. Ellingwood, D. D., 371; John Merrick, Esq., 379; Robert H. Gardiner, Esq., 403; Rt. Rev. Bishop Burgess, D. D., 429; Hon. George Evans, LL. D., 457; Hon. William Willis, LL. D., (by permission, from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1873,) 473; Cyrus Eaton, Esq., 487.....	361

ARTICLE I.

THE ANCIENT PENOBSCOT,

OR

PANAWANSKEK.

BY HON. JOHN E. GODFREY,

OF BANGOR.

THE ANCIENT PENOBSCOT.

THE spelling of the original name of Penobscot was a difficult matter with the early French, in this country, for it was spelled by them, as our late Secretary, Doctor Ballard, discovered, in not far from sixty different ways—Panouamske, Panawanskek, Pamnaouamske, Panahamsequet, Panamske, Panaomske, Panaouamsde, Panaouamske, Panouamske, Panoumsque, Panouske are some of the forms. The English did better; they caught the sound, “Penobscot,” and kept it.

It is difficult to determine when the English established that pronunciation. We find it thus spelled in Strachey's account of the expedition that sailed from England, in 1606, to establish the Popham Colony. He says that, on the eighth of September, “Captain Gilbert with twenty-two others departed in the shallop for the river of “Penobscot.*” Strachey, however, wrote in 1618. Captain John Smith was upon the coast in 1614 and visited Penobscot. The name does not appear in the journal of Weymouth's voyage, in 1605, although it is believed, by many, that the Penobscot was the river he visited.

At the time Champlain sailed up the river, in the autumn of 1605, it was called, by the savages, “Pentagoët.” Mount Desert was called “Pematig” or “Pematiq;” and from

* Maine Historical Collections, iii., 303.

this, it is said, the waters of the bay and river, westward, acquired the name Pematigoett and, finally, "Pentagoët." This name the French afterward applied to the Peninsula of Matchebiguatus—commonly called Bagaduce—now a part of Castine; the English applying to the same locality the name Penobscot.

It would relieve curiosity to know if there was a permanent Abenakis village, prior to the advent of the French, bearing the name of Panawanskek. The Abenakis, according to La Hontan, were a wandering people. They must have been so by necessity, for, depending upon the woods and waters for their supplies of food, they could not long remain in one place and subsist. That they had temporary camping-grounds, at the mouths of nearly all the tributaries of the Penobscot, is evident from the fact that great numbers of arrow-heads, stone axes and other Indian implements, have been found there. But there are three localities upon the river which, it is said, were their particular places of rendezvous—Mattawamkeag, Passadumkeag, and Penobscot Falls. The latter locality, was, probably, the beginning or principal point of the ancient Panawanskek. It may be, that that name, in its several forms, was applied to the different camping-grounds; or it might have been applied to the whole territory. At Passadumkeag and Penobscot Falls were French forts with French and Indian villages. The fort at Passadumkeag was destroyed, by Colonel Thomas Westbrook in 1722-3, the inhabitants having retired to Mattawamkeag. The fort and village at Penobscot Falls were destroyed by Captain Heath in 1725.*

A French "Memoir," of 1723, says there were then five villages of the Abenakis. Two were on the River St. Lawrence, near Three Rivers. "The three others are in the direction of Acadia, and are called, Narantsonak, on the River Kanebekky, Panouamsdè, on the River Pentagouët,

* Williamson's History of Maine, ii., 143.

“and Medoctec, on the River St. John. The village of “Narantsouak is nearest New England ; that of Medoctec “nearest Acadia, and that of Panouamké nearly in the “centre.”* Narantsouak was Norridgwock ; Medoctec was about East from the town of Hodgdon ; and Panouamké was probably at Penobscot Falls, as stated before, and opposite the mouth of the Mantawassuc stream, (near Eddington,) which was celebrated for the immense quantities of fish that were taken there in early times.

Although the forces of Westbrook and Heath were quite large—there being with Westbrook two hundred and forty men—yet no mention is made by them of a village at Old-town. Westbrook was five days examining the river and searching for a fort between the place of his landing and Passadumkeag ; but he found none until he reached what is now called Nicola’s Island, at the latter place ; and he mentions no other village. Williamson thinks the village at Penobscot Falls was not built until 1723-4.† He says, “it was a resting-place and resort of the Indians, before “the village was built.”

Father Chambault wrote a letter, dated Panawanskek, September 24, 1697, in which he gives an account of an expedition of one hundred and twenty men leaving there, in canoes, on the thirteenth of September, with the design of joining the Indians of “Kinibekki, in order to form all “together a large party which might strike a considerable “blow at the enemy,” and of its going beyond Pemaquid, and being driven back by the enemy, who came in “five “English vessels.”‡ Major Benjamin Church says, in his report of his expedition, East in 1696, that he “found “many rendezvous and fire-places where the Indians had “been.” The pilot, “Joseph York, informed the Major,

* New York Colonial Documents, ix., 940.

† Williamson’s History of Maine, ii., 143.

‡ Murdoch’s Nova Scotia, i., 235.

“that fifty or sixty miles up that river, at the great falls, the enemy had a great rendezvous and planted a quantity of corn when he was with them, four years ago.”*

It was from this place, probably, that Father Lauverjait wrote a letter, dated “PANOUAMSKE, 8th July, 1728,” in which he says, “The insolence of the Messrs. de St. Castin,” [*the Baron’s sons*] “has become so excessive, that they have no respect for God or myself. The eldest, who will not marry, and is not satisfied with spreading corruption through the village, has now set up a public traffic in *eau-de-vie*, with his nephew, the son of M. de Belle Isle. They have already drowned one man by it, and think to destroy many others. The youngest of the Castins never comes into the village, but he gets publicly drunk, and sets the village in a flame.”

Governor Pownall, with his expedition up the Penobscot, in 1759, landed on the East side of the river, with one hundred and thirty-six men, and proceeded to the head of the first falls, “about four miles and a quarter from the first Ledge” [*Champlain’s rocks, off the foot of Newbury-street, Bangor.*] . . . “Clear land on the left for near four miles.”† “The Plains,” in Veazie, opposite the spot where Governor Pownall established his bound, were doubtless the corn lands of the Indians from time immemorial. The soil is a sandy loam, and has always been esteemed for its peculiar adaptability to the culture of Indian corn.

A Penobscot Indian, of some intelligence, says, that the aboriginal name of the present Indian village on Oldtown-island is Panawansko. This Island is within the territory to which that name was applied centuries ago; but the village is comparatively modern. Captain Francis, an intelligent Chief of the tribe, of some note in the former part of this century, said that the Penobscots removed

* Drake’s Indian Wars, 223.

† Maine Historical Collections, v., 382.

from above, on the river, and established themselves there in order to have advantages from the swift water in their rencontres with the Mohawks their chief enemies.

Father Vetromile, in his little work, entitled *The Abnakis*, says, that the meaning of Panawanskek is, "it forks upon the white rocks."* The Indians say that it means, "it opens or widens upon the rocks."

If there is any part of the river to which this definition applies, it is that part at the "Head of the Tide." Great bowlders and ledges in great numbers are there exposed, when the tide is out, and the river truly "opens upon the rocks." Between that place and Oldtown, the river is rapid and difficult of navigation; whereas, from there, in the direction of the ocean, the navigation is easy and agreeable, and it really must have been the *point de partance* of the natives in their expeditions down the river.

The Indians made peculiar claim to the territory extending from that point up the river, and held it, with wonderful tenacity, for years, against the efforts of the white settlers and the Government to obtain it.

On the twenty-first of June, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts recognized their claim to "territories or possessions, beginning at the Head of the Tide, on the Penobscot-river, extending six miles on each side of said river."†

Bangor was first settled in 1769, and its principal settlement, for several years, was near the head of the tide. A truck-house was built a little below the Penjejawock‡ stream, near Mount Hope; and, in September, 1775, a Conference with Chiefs of the Penobscot and St. John Tribes was held in that house, and a Treaty entered into which was reduced to writing by Colonel Jonathan Lowder, then late

* The Abnakis, 24.

† Kidder's Eastern Maine, 53.

‡ Accent on the syllable "jaw."

Gunner at Fort Pownall. They resolved to stand together with "our Brethren of Massachusetts and oppose the "people of Old England that are endeavoring to take your "and our Lands and Libertys from us."

After the War, it was found that the Indian claim to this tract was an obstacle to the settlement of the country. The whites encroached upon it, and some ill-feeling was likely to prevail unless the Indian title could be extinguished; therefore, the Massachusetts Government commenced negotiations in order to obtain a release of it.

Massachusetts appointed three Commissioners—General Benjamin Lincoln, General Rufus Putnam, and Doctor Thomas Rice—to obtain a cession of the territory. They arrived at Condukeag, [*Bangor*] on the twenty-sixth of August, 1786, and, on the same day, sent Mr. John Marsh, the original settler upon Marsh's-island, to Oldtown, to invite the Indians to a Conference. The answer was favorable, and on the next day, which was Sunday, twenty-one canoes with sixty-four natives, arrived at Condukeag. The Conference was held on the next day.

Reverend Daniel Little, of Kennebunk, who was a Missionary in the region, at the time, was present, and gives the following interesting account of the Conference:

"Aug. 28, at 10 o'clock. The Indians were desired to "parade themselves in the place and manner they should "choose. In about ten minutes, the Commissioners received word that they were ready to wait upon them. "Four of their chieftains, Orono, Orsong, Neptune, Neptunebovett, seated on the ground, close together, in the "front on an elegant green near the river, the others promiscuously in the rear. The Commissioners, with the "two Interpreters, Messrs. Treat and Marsh, walked up to the parade; and the Conference began in the presence of "a number of spectators.

"Comr General Lincoln addressed them with the kind

“intentions of the Government in their appointment to
 “settle their landed claims to mutual satisfaction; and
 “congratulated them upon the happy close of the War in
 “which they had been our faithful friends and brethren.

“INDIANS. We desire to bless God that you are come;
 “and are glad that our hearts are linked with the Ameri-
 “cans. We will now answer you to what you demand.

“COMM^R. We wish to know *your* claims. [*Commission-
 “ers retired.*]

“IND. The Indians signify they are ready to answer.

“COMM. [*The Commissioners returned.*]

“IND. We claim down to a small stream below Oldtown,
 “one mile above Colburn’s. If the English come nearer,
 “our dogs will do them damage and make a quarrel.

“[*Then the Indians handed the Commissioners a bundle of
 “papers, upon which the Commissioners retired.—Commission-
 “ers returned and replied.*]

“COMM. We are glad you express so much satisfaction
 “in seeing us here. We wish you to remember you relin-
 “quished your right to this part of the country to Governor
 “Pownall; and that what you now hold is by the doings
 “of the Provincial Congress, in the year 1775, which is six
 “miles on each side of the river, from the head of the tide.
 “On this you all now rest your claims. If you hold only
 “six miles next the river, when we settle our land back of
 “that it will destroy your hunting-ground, which we shall
 “be unwilling to do. We propose to give you a larger
 “tract up the river, better for hunting, and two islands in
 “the Bay.

“[*Commissioners give them time for a deliberate consider-
 “ation.*]

“IND. ANSWER. We don’t think it right to remove further
 “up the river—we wish to do nothing but what is right.

“[*The Commissioners retired for deliberation.*]

“COMM. REPLY. We are willing you should hold all the
 “Islands in the river you now improve, from Sunkhole

“to Passadunkee, which is three miles above Oldtown,*
 “together with Oldtown Islands and the lands on all the
 “branches of the river above Passquatagness,† on the West
 “side, and Montawanskeag,‡ on the East side of the river,
 “together with White-island and Black-island in the Bay,
 “if you will quit your right to the six miles wide from the
 “river below.

“[*Commissioners leave this proposal some time for deliberation.*]

“IND. We desire a cross line at Passadunkee for our
 “bounds.

“COMM. You have our proposals from which we shall
 “not depart.

“[*Commissioners leave the proposals and retire.*]

“IND. After some deliberation, the Indians signify that
 “the six miles was their land; and if they moved the
 “bound further up, they expected to be paid for it.

“COMM. We do give you more land and better for hunting.
 “What further consideration do you desire?

“IND. We all want Blankets, Powder, and Shot, and
 “Flints.

“COMM. How many blankets will give each of your
 “tribe one?

“IND. Three hundred and fifty.

“COMM. You shall have 350 blankets, 200 lbs. powder,
 “and shot and flints in proportion, at the time when you
 “sign the papers for the ratification of the agreement.

“To which the Indians consented with general satisfaction.
 “Then General Lincoln called upon four persons
 “present as witnesses, which were received and accepted
 “by the Indians, viz., the Rev. Messrs. Little and Noble,
 “Colo. Eddy and Mr. Colburn.

* Sunkhole (now Sunkhaze) is three miles above Oldtown. Passadunkeag is from sixteen to twenty miles above.

† Piscataquis.

‡ Mattawamkeag.

“The Conference closed at two o’clock, with an admonition to the Indians not to spread groundless reports of hostile intentions, but carefully inform the Inhabitants of anything necessary for their safety. Upon which they shook hands with the Commissioners and parted with general joy.

“The Commissioners sent on shore both breakfast and dinner. And the Indians regaled themselves, and then went in different parties up the river.

“Through the whole time of the Conference, the Indians never moved from the spot upon which they first seated themselves, and never rose except when they spoke to the Commissioners, till just at the close, when the four public speakers rose together.”

In June, 1788, the Governor of Massachusetts appointed Rev. Daniel Little a Commissioner to complete the agreement with the Indians, by delivering to them the blankets and ammunition and obtaining their release of the desired territory. The Reverend gentleman, in his capacity of Governmental Minister used considerable more formality than he used as Gospel Minister; and, when he arrived at Conduskeag with his supplies, he gave the following letter of Instructions to Major Robert Treat, who acted as an Interpreter:

“JUNE 17, 1788. *Major Treat, on Penobscot-river, near the head of the tide,*

“SIR: I hereby, in the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, desire you to repair, as soon as possible, to Indian Oldtown, or any other suitable place, where you have the highest probability of meeting with the Penobscot Tribe of Indians, and inform their Chiefs that the Govr and Council have appointed me a Commissioner to bring forward and complete the Treaty the Commissioners made with them at Conduskeag; and that I desire the

"Indians, especially their Chiefs, to meet me at Conduskeag on next Tuesday forenoon, and to receive the blankets which we have now brought up from Major-bagualuce, by order of the Governor and Council, to be delivered to them when they shall sign the papers for the confirmation of the agreement. Of your doings you will make return to me at Conduskeag. You are also directed to take some other suitable person whom you shall choose, to assist you, and to accompany the Indians to Conduskeag.

"DANIEL LITTLE, *Comr.*

"SUNBURY, ON PENOBSCOT, JUNE 17, 1788."

MR. TREAT'S RETURN.

"SIR: I with Mr. Colburn, proceeded according to the within to Indian Oldtown, called Penobscot, and found all the Chiefs of the Tribe there, with a considerable part of the Tribe, to whom, agreeable to my trust, I delivered your message, and the Chiefs told me they would have me withdraw from them and they would give me their answer. Mr. Colburn and myself left their Council; and in about an hour they sent for us to return, and they told us they would not send their answer in writing, but they must depend on me to return their answer. They said they had considered on the matter; and that they had been down a number of times on public business; and that their young men were apt to drink, and that their number was large, and that it was most proper to meet at their town, and that they should be glad to meet Mr. Little and any other gentlemen, as everything might be done calmly and coolly with us.

ROBERT TREAT.

"SUNBURY, PENOBSCOT-RIVER, NEAR THE HEAD OF THE TIDE,
"JUNE 19, 1788."

Mr. Little was in doubt whether he might not compromise the dignity of the Government by yielding to their proposition. He therefore conferred with "some of the "principal gentlemen on the river," who thought, with him, that "our condescension with respect to the circumstances "of place might be consistent with the honor of Govern- "ment, especially as it was a condition not to be dispensed "with without the loss of the only probability of coming to "a Conference,"—in other words, to make a virtue of necessity. Accordingly, he notified them that he would meet them at their town on the next Saturday.

He felt it important to the success of the mission that the "gentlemen of character" of the region should accompany him; he therefore made up a party, consisting of Major Treat, Reverend Seth Noble, Colonel Lowder, Colonel Brewer, Mr. John Lee and Mr. William Colburn. The party left Major Treat's, near the mouth of the Pennejawock stream, on the nineteenth of June, at about two o'clock; reached Mr. Colburn's, at Deadwater, [*now Stillwater,*] and staid over night. Mr. Little gives the following account of the succeeding transactions:

"SAT., JUNE 21. Set off about sunrise, passed a Western "branch of the river to an island seven miles long," [*Marsh Island,*] "walked upon said island through a trackless wood "about six miles, when Indian Oldtown, about two hundred acres opened to view, with a thicket of houses on the "lower point of said island, just above the great Falls. "Immediately upon our arrival in open view of the town, "a number of their canoes were manned with sprightly "young men, in which they came over (about forty rods) to "transport us into town. As we landed, their shore was "lined with women and children. We walked up to their "parade, about fifteen rods from the shore, (a walk very "smooth, about three rods in width, lined on each side "with a range of houses, built with poles about six inches

“diameter, and the same asunder, placed perpendicularly
“and covered very neatly with bark in shingle form,) was
“introduced into their capital house by a waiter, who stood
“at the door; only one Sachem in the house of conference,
“who made us very welcome, directing us to take possession of one half the room, 20×40 , which was carpeted
“with fur. Very soon came in all the Sachems and placed
“themselves on the opposite side, which being divided by
“two poles from one end of the house to the other. Then
“about forty of their men of years place themselves in
“rank next the Sachems; and lastly an old man, about a
“hundred years, a former Sachem, was introduced in memory of past services. They then fired a cannon abroad.

“The Sachems declare they are ready. I addressed
“them in written words, declaring the design of my visit to
“them by the appointment of Government, which was to
“bring forward and complete the Treaty made at Conduskeag by Gen^l Lincoln, &c., 26 Aug., 1786; informing
“them that I had brought up the articles to be given to them,
“Blankets, &c., which they should receive at Conduskeag
“from aboard Capt. Holbrook’s [*vessel*] as soon as they
“would sign the paper which contains the land we buy of
“them. I then stated the agreement; explained the purpose of each paper of conveyance; and observed that
“Government had done every thing, on their part of the
“agreement, and expected that they would make their
“mark against the seals—holding them open to view—
“upon their doing this I should give them the parchment
“in my hand, containing the gift of land to them, together
“with 300 blankets.

“The Sachems desired to withdraw, about half an hour,
“for consideration, and returned punctually in order, appointing Orsong Neptune their speaker, who addressed
“me in the following words:

““We are thankful to see Mr. Little here, and desire to

“be remembered to the Governor and Council, and are
“glad to see all well here together. The King France
“says, we are all one—it is all peace; and the King of
“England says it is peace, though it was War sometime
“ago.

“BROTHERS, we are all one; we don't talk of hurting
“one another. We live here to serve God; we all live
“together. We and our children mean to help each other.
“We don't mean to take any lands from you. If anybody
“takes any land from us it must be King George, for
“General Court and General Washington promised we
“should enjoy this country. General Washington and
“General Court told us, if anybody was going to take our
“lands from us, they would let us know it. They told us,
“if they knew anything was doing against us, they would
“tell us.

“BROTHER, now we are here together. When we were
“at Conduskeag we had not a right understanding of
“matters; and the young men were not all collected, and
“we were pressed to make that Treaty contrary to our
“inclinations.

“BROTHER, God put us here. It was not King of
“France or King George. We mean to stay on this Is-
“land. The great God put us here; and we have been on
“this Island 500 years. And we have been of the French
“King's religion, and mean to be so always. From this
“land we make our living. This is the general speech of
“all our young men. We don't know anything about
“writing. All that we know, we mean to have a right
“heart and a right tongue.

“BROTHER, we don't incline to do anything about the
“Treaty made at Conduskeag, or that writing,' [*pointing*
“*to the paper I held open to them, with full explanation of it.*]

“Then closed the first address of their chief speaker, in
“the following words, turning to my Interpreter:

“Is not Mr. Little a Minister?"

“‘Yes,’ said the Interpreter. Then turning to me, said,
 “‘BROTHER, Ministers ought not have anything to do
 “‘with public business.’

“MY REPLY.

“‘FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE PENOBSCOT TRIBE,’
 “*[for there were about forty men, and half of them old men,*
 “*placed in regular order,]* ‘It is true the Great God placed
 “‘you here to serve him; and it is true that the King of
 “‘France, and the King of England, and we all one, all
 “‘at peace, now. But you must remember that the lands
 “‘you now hold is by the doings of Massachusetts
 “‘Government. At Conduskeag, Gen^l Lincoln told you,
 “‘in Gov^r Pownall’s day, in a former War against us, you
 “‘lost all your lands in this part of the country. That, in
 “‘the year ’75, Massachusetts Government gave you six
 “‘miles on each side of the river, from the head of the
 “‘tide, on which you must rest your claims, to which you
 “‘there consented; and you must remember, Gen^l Lincoln
 “‘called witnesses to what was then said and done, Colonel
 “‘Eddy, Captain Colburn, Mr. Noble and myself. Here
 “‘are three of those witnesses present.’ *[The witnesses*
 “*were called forward and presented. The Indians were*
 “*silent.]* ‘For those two strips of land by the river, Mas-
 “‘sachusetts Government, according to the agreement made
 “‘by Gen. Lincoln, now gives you, up in the country, four
 “‘times as much land for hunting, two Islands in the Bay,
 “‘with all the town and Islands in the river you now occu-
 “‘py, with three hundred and fifty blankets, &c. You shall
 “‘be assured of the enjoyment of the religion of the King
 “‘of France, without interruption, as long as you please. I
 “‘am not here to-day as a Minister, but a Commissioner.
 “‘I saw the Governor and Council less than twenty days
 “‘ago; what they then spake, I have now a right to speak.
 “‘You are sensible Government has fulfilled all, on their
 “‘part, of the Treaty made at Conduskeag. You say your

“young men were not present, then. Your fathers used to
“ask for the children. The same Fathers and Sachems
“that were there are now here. Will you make your marks
“for your names against the seals on this paper, which tells
“what land you give to Government, and accept of this
“parchment, which is the act of the General Court giving
“land to you, and then receive the blankets, &c.? Will
“you do this or not? Answer!”

“ANSWER.

“We dont know anything about writing. We have put
“our hands to many papers at Albany, New York, and
“elsewhere; but we will not put our hands to that paper,
“now, nor any more papers, now, nor any other time for-
“ever hereafter.”

“To this explicit declaration of theirs, I replied :

“BROTHER SACHEMS: Although you refuse to put your
“hand to the agreement made at Conduskeag by words
“and witnesses, yet you may expect Government will abide
“by it, and expect the same from you. If you break
“such solemn agreements, you must not expect prosperity
“from Heaven or any future favors from Government;
“but if you fulfil Treaties faithfully, in time of any future
“want or distress, you might expect Government would
“be kind to you and help you.”

Mr. Little made some remarks upon another subject, and
at their conclusion, the Conference closed.

“We then,” Mr. Little continues, “wished them all well
“and took our leave of them at the house of conference;
“but their Chiefs asked leave of us to wait upon us to the
“water side, when I repeated a former declaration to im-
“press their minds with a sense of the authority of
“Government, viz: that, although they refused to put their
“hands to any paper for the confirmation of the Treaty
“made at Conduskeag, yet they might expect that Govern-

“ment would abide by that agreement, made by words and
“witnesses, and expect the same from them, to which they
“made no reply. They provided young men and canoes
“to carry us off the Island; and, as we left their shore,
“they fired their cannon and gave us other marks of desire
“of friendship with us.

“The Conference about four hours. Not a drop of rum
“by us or them while in the town. The Conference began
“between eight and nine o'clock. About fifty, mostly their
“heads of families, who occupied one side of the house.
“Not a word spoke or a smile expressed by any of them,
“except their Moderator or orator, and a few directing
“words by the Council to assist their speaker. In the
“midst of the Conference, about twelve o'clock, the bell
“rung and they made a composed mental prayer, for about
“ten minutes. When they appealed to Heaven as given
“them a secure right to the soil, all the Sachems rose up from
“the ground on which they sat and stood in a posture, for a
“minute, expressive of an appeal to the Great God, of the
“truth of their declarations. Four men were distinguished
“as their acting Chiefs, viz: Orono, Orsong, Esq., Neptune-
“bovitt, Orsong Neptune. No women or children seen or
“heard through the Conference. They declined giving us
“liberty to see the Tribe paraded and numbered; but those
“who were most acquainted with the Tribe judged, as they
“appeared on the shore, at our landing, to be present about
“two hundred.”

Mr. Little and his party returned, the same day. Orono, the chief Sachem, with his wife, followed them to Condukeag, and to Colonel Brewer's, at Segeundedunk, now Brewer village; but he gave no encouragement that the Tribe would ratify the Treaty. Mr. Little told him that he should be on the river about a week or ten days, and that any of the Sachems might renew the Conference with him, if thought fit, at Orrington or Majorbagaduce. Mr. Little

lingered upon the river, with the hope that the Tribe would change their mind; but he was disappointed, and was obliged to report to the Government his want of success.

No further efforts were made to obtain a settlement of this business until 1796. Then, a controversy arose between the settlers and the Indians in relation to the title to the territory above the Head of the Tide—the former supposing it to have been relinquished to the whites. The Government appointed another Commission to quiet the Indians and bring the matter to a conclusion. The Commission consisted of William Shepherd, of Westfield, Nathan Dane, of Beverly, and Daniel Davis, of Portland. They succeeded in obtaining a release of all the claims of the Tribe to the territory above Nichol's Rock, at "The Bend," near the Head of the Tide, excepting Oldtown Island and the islands in the river above it for thirty miles. The consideration for the release was one hundred and fifty yards of blue woolens, four hundred pounds of shot, one hundred pounds of powder, one hundred bushels of corn, thirteen bushels of salt, thirty-six hats, one barrel of rum, and an annual stipend of three hundred bushels of Indian corn, fifty pounds of powder, two hundred pounds of shot, and seventy-five yards of blue woolen cloth, fit for garments. The territory relinquished by the Indians embraced one hundred and eighty-nine thousand, four hundred and twenty-six acres,* which was afterwards surveyed into nine townships, in 1797, by Salem Towne.

The Indians, however, afterwards claimed title to the territory six miles wide, on both sides of the river, above the thirty miles relinquished in 1796, to an indefinite extent, and assumed to sell the timber from it. To prevent this, the Government of Massachusetts appointed another Commission, in 1818, consisting of Edward H. Robbins, Daniel

* Williamson's History of Maine, ii., 571.

Davis, and Mark L. Hill, who met Governor Etienne, Lieutenant-governor Neptune, Captain Francis, and other Chiefs of the Tribe—in all twenty-seven—on the twenty-fourth of June, at Bangor.

A Masonic celebration occurred at this time, and it was deemed expedient by the Municipal Officers, to make the occasion memorable by a general celebration. Accordingly, they provided for a holiday and a procession. The Freemasons gave the Commissioners a dinner at Lumbert's then famous hotel, on Hancock-street; after which the procession, consisting of the Municipal Officers, Magistrates of the County, Military Officers, Rev. Thomas Williams, Strangers, and Citizens, escorted them to the Court-house, ["ancient City Hall"] where a large audience of ladies and gentlemen was assembled. The Chiefs, who were rather noble looking sons of the forest and showily dressed, accompanied by General John Blake [Indian Agent,] Major Treat, and Captain Webster, afterwards entered the house. As they entered, the Commissioners arose to receive them. Solicitor-general Davis—who, tradition says, had a kindly regard for the fairer portion of the Tribe—addressed them. Lieutenant-governor Neptune, a Chief of commanding figure, of great dignity of manner, and extensive influence among his people, made the reply. The result of the conference was, that Massachusetts obtained a release of all the Indians' interest in the territory, excepting four townships, six miles square, two contiguous to the nine townships formerly released, and two near the mouth of the Mattawamkeag-river—one on each side of the Penobscot and opposite each other—which, with the Islands in the river, above Oldtown Falls, were to belong to the Indians, for occupation, forever. As compensation for this relinquishment, the Commissioners agreed that the Indians should have, also, for occupation, two acres of land in Brewer, opposite Kenduskeag-point; to employ a suitable man to teach them husbandry; to repair their church, at Oldtown;

to deliver there, in October, yearly, five hundred bushels of corn, fifteen barrels of flour, seven barrels of clear pork, one hogshead of molasses, one hundred yards of broad-cloth (of blue and red), fifty blankets, one hundred pounds of gunpowder, four hundred pounds of shot, one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, six boxes of chocolate, and fifty dollars in silver. At the time, they made them a present of one six-pound gun, one swivel, one box of pipes, fifty knives, six brass kettles, two hundred yards of calico, two drums, four fifes, and three hundred yards of ribbon. An annual stipend of three hundred and fifty dollars was appropriated by the Government for their religious teacher.*

After the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, Maine assumed the obligations of Massachusetts to the Indians, and renewed the Treaty, at the Court-house, in Bangor, on the seventeenth of August, 1820.

The Commissioner, on the part of Maine, was Hon. Lathrop Lewis. The first meeting was on the fifteenth of August, when the Commissioner made the proposition that Maine would take upon itself the obligations of Massachusetts, provided the Tribe would release Massachusetts. The Chiefs—who were the same who made the last Treaty with Massachusetts—took time to consider. On the seventeenth, the Conference was renewed. The Chiefs were dressed in scarlet coats or robes, ornamented with silver brooches and with beads, after the Indian mode of that day, and made quite a distinguished appearance. Captain Francis made a speech, and, in behalf of the Tribe, accepted the proposition of Commissioner Lewis, to which Col. Lewis replied. After the Treaty was signed, Colonel Lewis presented, from Governor King to Governor Etienne and Lieutenant-governor Neptune, a fine piece of scarlet broad-cloth, for each a coat. To each of the other Chiefs, he gave a silver breast-plate, upon which was engraved the

* Williamson's History of Maine, ii., 669, 670.

Arms of the State of Maine. The presents were received with great apparent pleasure.

From the facts above-stated, and from the great attachment of the Tribe to the strip of territory extending from the Head of the Tide, up the river, we may conclude that that was the ancient and original Penobscot or Panawanskek; and that the chief resort of the Tribe, anciently, was at the Head of the Tide.

The French, doubtless, set the Indians the example of having permanent villages. They established Missions; built churches, and forts, and houses, and the Indians clustered about them. The village on Oldtown Island probably originated in that way. It might have been occupied by the Indians, as a camping-ground, five hundred years, as Orsong Neptune said; but the Indian who stated that the village was Panawanskek, and, at the same time, stated that it was a hundred years old, was probably nearly correct.

ARTICLE II.

THE
PILGRIMS AT PENOBSCOT.

BY HON. JOHN E. GODFREY,

OF BANGOR.

THE PILGRIMS AT PENOBSCOT.

AMONG the places of historical interest in Maine, the peninsula, which has at different times borne the name of Penobscot, Pentagoët, Matchebiguatus, Bagaduce and Castine, at the entrance of the Penobscot River, is of the first. During a period of two hundred years, from 1611, when it was first visited by the French Jesuit, Father Biard,* until after the War of 1812, when it was occupied by British troops, it was at various times in possession of Indians, Dutch, French, English and Americans, and was the scene of many stirring and interesting events.

The easiness of its access at all seasons of the year, its deep, capacious and secure harbor, and, withal, the beauty of its scenery, account for its attractiveness. Its contiguity to the headquarters of the Indians of the region, whose pelt-ry was in great demand as an article of traffic in the early days, caused it to be resorted to by enterprising adventurers, and its convenience for military purposes invited the British to occupy it repeatedly in later times.

The first establishment there, of which we have record, was that of the pilgrims of New-Plymouth. Those sturdy, brave men, whose hard experiences among their own countrymen in England; among the people of Holland; upon the ocean; in the wilderness with the savages, had fitted

*Jesuit Relations, i., 37.

them for a pioneer life in a remote and inhospitable country, had hardly obtained a footing in America, before they manifested a disposition for that kind of acquisition that has rendered their descendants so famous, and they availed themselves of every opportunity that offered to gratify it. They were the first squatters in New England; and they squatted to some purpose. In six years after they had appropriated the territory of Patuxet and established there the colony of New-Plymouth, without authority, they proceeded to occupy portions of the country nearly three hundred miles distant from their colony, in a similar manner, without apparent inquiry into the proprietorship. Having learned that Kennebec and "Penobscote" (as Gov. Bradford wrote it,) or "Pentagoët" (as the French called it,) were eligible places for traffic, they set up trading houses there. In making an establishment at the latter place, they took a risk that always occasioned them anxiety, and in the end much loss, disappointment and chagrin.

For many years after the discovery of the country the title to the territory east of the Kennebec River was claimed by the French and English severally. The latter made a dreamy claim based on the supposition that the Cabots, after they discovered *Prima Vista*, or Newfoundland, in 1497-8, might have extended their explorations southerly along the North American coast; while the former made a more probable claim, based on the fact that Verazzani, under their auspices, ranged the coast from Florida to Newfoundland in 1524. But neither could claim any portion of the territory of New England, or Acadia, by right of possession until the early part of the seventeenth century. Martin Pring, an English navigator, it is supposed, visited the Fox Islands in Penobscot Bay in 1603, and George Weymouth, another English navigator, was at Monhegan in the spring of 1605, and while in the region sailed less than three score miles up "the most beautiful, rich,

"large, secure harboring river that the world affordeth." As the Penobscot, Georges and Kennebec, each by its friends, is supposed to answer to this description, the English title to the country bordering on the Penobscot River was not strengthened by Weymouth. It is not certain that either of these navigators had any knowledge of that river. On the other hand, it is certain that the French by the Chevalier De Monts, took possession of Port Royal, (Annapolis,) St. Croix, Pematig, (Mt. Desert,) and Pemete-goit, (as Champlain says it was called by the natives,) as far as Kadesquit, (Bangor,) in 1604 and 1605, under a charter to him from Henry IV. of France, that embraced the territory between the 40th and 46th parallels of latitude, (from the Delaware Bay to the Gulf of St. Lawrence,) and in the autumn of the latter year—with Champlain—explored the eastern coast from St. Croix to Cape Cod.

The first English charter was granted by James I., in 1606, of the territory between the 34th and 45th parallels, (from South Carolina to Cape Breton,) to the London and Plymouth companies, which was divided into two parts, called Northern and Southern Virginia, the former being assigned to the Plymouth company. The first attempt at occupancy was made by the Popham colonists, at the mouth of the Kennebec River, in 1607, within the territory first granted to De Monts and first taken possession of by Weymouth. The occupation, however, was not continued.

King James followed up his claim by granting a new charter, in 1620, to the Plymouth company, of the territory between the 40th and 48th parallels, and in 1621, by granting a charter of the territory now constituting New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and Prince Edwards Island, to Sir William Alexander.

Notwithstanding these conflicting claims no collision betwixt the two nations grew out of them. Indeed, the exigences of their home affairs were such as to prevent any

special attention being given to the territory of Acadia by such administrations as those of James I., and Louis XIII. under the regency of his mother Marie de Medicis.

In 1613, certain French Jesuits, under the patronage of the Marchioness de Guercheville—the wife of the Governor of Paris, who had obtained a transfer of the charter of De Monts,—sailed with an expedition from France with the design of establishing a mission and settlement at Kadesquit. Having made a harbor at the “Isle of the Desert “Mountains”—as it was called by Champlain—they were induced by the savages to remain there. They had hardly commenced building, however,—at the entrance of what is now called Somes’s Sound—before they were attacked and dispersed by Samuel Argal, who was on the coast in command of some vessels from Virginia.

The French commander, M. de Saussaye, protested against the attack as unjustifiable, claiming that he was there under a commission from France. Argal, who had surreptitiously come into possession of the commission, said to M. Saussaye, that, if he would produce it he would admit his right. As he could not, he was treated as an usurper, and some of his people—among whom was Father Biard—were taken by Argal to Virginia and condemned to death by the governor, as pirates, and would have been executed had not Argal revealed the facts respecting the commission.* The governor, (Dale,) having little respect for the French claim to Acadia, sent Argal back to take possession of the whole of that country as far as Port Royal, which he did. France was then at peace with England, and this action has been denounced as without warrant. It does not, however, appear that it was then taken notice of by either France or England, even by complaint or apology. But the French continued their visits along the coast, and John Smith, who was at

* Shea’s Charlevoix, i., 280, 282.

Penobscot in 1614, found it difficult, if not impossible, to trade with the natives there, because, as he says, "the French bartered their articles on better terms" than the English, whose "commodities were not much esteemed."

Gov. Hutchinson, under the impression that De Monts made his exploration in 1604, says that the French could make no better title to Penobscot than they could to Massachusetts.* As De Monts did not make his voyage to Cape Cod until the autumn of 1605, Weymouth had anticipated him. De Monts—with Champlain—was the first to explore the coast from St. Croix westward to the Penobscot River, and Pring and Weymouth were the first to explore the coast from the Penobscot Bay westward.

This brief summary of the discoveries, explorations and possessory acts of the French and English will give an idea how far the pilgrims were justified, as subjects of the King of England, in taking possession of Penobscot. It is somewhat significant that they never asked for a charter, or even any authority from England or from any of the companies, to occupy that country, although they made great efforts to obtain a charter of territory on the Kennebec, in which they at length succeeded.

It was early in 1626 or 1627 that they occupied Penobscot. In their various enterprises they had become burthened with heavy pecuniary liabilities, from which twenty-seven of their leading men undertook to relieve them, and entered into a contract with the colony, that in consideration that they should have its trade for six years from September, 1627, and its vessels, implements and goods, they would, every year during the time, supply the colonists with hose and shoes of the value of fifty pounds—to be sold to them for corn at six shillings per bushel—and three bushels of corn, or six pounds of tobacco, as they chose, and pay its debts. In this transaction they

* Hist. Mass., i., 34.

united with them four persons in England, and called the company the "Undertakers."

Their general agent for conveying goods and transacting outside business in connection with their trade was Isaac Allerton, one of their companions in the first voyage of the *May-Flower*. In this enterprise he was a partner, as well as agent, and made voyages to England on account of the company.

They were carrying on a profitable traffic with the Indians at Penobscot—exchanging with them coats, shirts, rugs, blankets, biscuit, corn, peas, and wampum, (of which latter they had the monopoly in the east, and which came to be much coveted by the natives,) for beaver, otter and other furs, when, by the arguments of Allerton and the English partners, a young man by the name of Edward Ashley, in whose integrity the pilgrims had little confidence, was rather forced upon them. They knew that he had wit and ability; they also knew that he was "a very profane young man, who had lived amonge ye Indians as a savage, and wente naked amongste them and used their maners." But he had learned their language, which was a useful and valuable accomplishment.

Ashley came into the business in 1629, and took charge of the establishment at Penobscot. Fearing to trust him alone, the Plymouth partners caused to be joined with him Thomas Willet, a young man from Leyden, honest, discreet and trustworthy, whom they instructed to keep him "in some good measure within bounds."

Ashley was well supplied with goods by the Undertakers from both England and Plymouth, and carried on so brisk a trade with the Indians, that it was not long before he had accumulated a large quantity of beaver. The Plymouth Undertakers, however, did not realize directly from it as they expected. He paid no attention to the liabilities of the house to them for supplies, but sent all his beaver direct to England, though he still continued to obtain goods

from them as well as from England. Consequently he did not rise in their favor. Nevertheless they were compelled, through their connection with the English partners, who had confidence in him, to buy and man a vessel for his use and render him other assistance. But after he had been there a year or more, he "was taken in a trape," Gov. Bradford says, "for trading powder and shote with ye Indians," in violation of the proclamation of King James, which forbade it. For this the authorities seized a half a ton of beaver, which he had on hand belonging to the house, and would have confiscated it, had not the Plymouth Undertakers proved by his bond to them in five hundred pounds, that he was "not to trade any munition with ye Indeans, or otherwise "to abuse him selfe." It appearing that he alone was responsible for the offense, and had violated his bond in every respect, he was sent to England and imprisoned in the Fleet. They were thus rid of him, to their great relief.

Mr. Allerton, who had rendered the colony good service in its commencement, after he became engaged in this enterprise disappointed the Plymouth partners. He had business of his own and so complicated it with theirs that they believed they were great losers in consequence; they therefore discharged him from their employ. After this he interfered with their trade on the Kennebec; he also undertook to divert their trade from Penobscot, by joining with Mr. Vines of Saco and sending goods to the eastward; and finally by setting up a trading camp at Machias, against the stipulations of Vines with La Tour. Their servants were, however, expelled by that officer, with the loss of their goods and of two of their men who were shot accidentally.*

After the removal of Ashley, and the dismissal of Allerton, the Undertakers had the sole control of the business at Penobscot, which prospered and made large yearly returns.

* Winthrop's Journal, ii., 126.

If it had not been interrupted by the French, the accumulations must have been immense. But these people took occasion to remind them that they were not entirely secure in their possession. In 1631, a party of Frenchmen with a "false Scott," as Gov. Bradford styles him, in their company, entered the harbor in a small ship, while the agent with all his company, excepting three or four servants whom he had left in charge, was absent to obtain some goods that had been brought over from England for the trade. They were, at first, very civil and complimentary after the French manner, and, representing that they did not know where they were, that their vessel was leaky, and that they had just come in from the sea, requested that they might be allowed to haul their vessel on shore to stop her leaks. Having learned from the Scotchman, who had made the discovery, of the absence of the principal persons, and seeing that the servants were simple fellows, they fell to admiring the objects in the house, especially the fire-arms that lay in the racks by the wall-side; and, expressing curiosity to know if they were charged, got them into their hands. Finding that they were, they pointed them at the servants, and compelled them to carry the goods that were in the house on board their vessel. Having thus obtained about five hundred pounds worth of goods, including three hundred pounds of beaver, they dismissed the servants, directing them to tell the master that "some of the Isle of Rhè gentlemen had been there,"—a taunt implying that the French, having defeated the English under the Duke of Buckingham on the Isle of Rhè five years before, were still triumphantly reaping the spoils. Gov. Hutchinson intimates that this visit had some political significance. It was, doubtless, simply a robbery.

Although the war in which the Isle of Rhè defeat occurred, between England and France, was terminated in 1629 by articles entered into at Susa in Piedmont, through the intervention of the republic of Venice, yet the treaty

was not fully completed until March 19, 1632, when the treaty of St. Germain en Laye was signed. By this treaty Acadia was yielded to France, and the question of title put at rest. The Pilgrims, however, did not honor the treaty with their regard, but continued their business at Pentagoët with as much serenity as any squatters of our day would after a six years' possession and improvement.

In this year (1632), Isaac de Razilli, a knight of Malta, was invested with the governorship of Acadia. He built a fort at La Have, (Liverpool,) Nova Scotia, in 1634. He did not take possession of the whole territory until 1635. He had under him two Lieut. Generals, Charles Amador de St. Estienne, sieur de la Tour, who commanded east and north of St. Croix and the Bay of Fundy, and Charles de Menou, seigneur d'Aulnay de Chairnsay, who commanded west of the St. Croix.

In 1635, D'Aulney (as he is called by English writers) took possession of Pentagoët. The Plymouth people had had four years after the treaty of St. Germain to bring their business there to a close, yet when the French came for their own they were apparently taken by surprise, and never was there a stronger apparent disposition to maintain squatter sovereignty than that manifested by them. The French chief, however, got possession of the place, though, as the occupants represented, by stratagem. Gov. Bradford states it thus: "Monsier de Aulney coming "into ye harbore of Penobscote, and having before gott "some of ye chief yt belonged to ye house aboard his ves- "sell, by sutlty coming upon them in their shalop, he gott "them to pilote him in."

After he had entered the house, he made declaration that he took possession in the name of the king of France.

"But the goods?" said Willet, the agent.

"I will take the goods of you," was the reply.

"I cannot relinquish them."

"You will relinquish them at a valuation."

"I must have them for my trade."

"You cannot trade here ; this is French territory ; I have taken possession by authority ; your traffic in this place is at an end. You shall be paid for the goods."

"If I am compelled to sell them, I can make no resistance."

"I will fix the prices, and if you will come for the pay in a convenient time, you shall receive it."

"You will pay me for the house and fortification?"

"That is a different matter. Those who build on another man's ground do forfeit the same. I can pay nothing for the building."

It was not yet late enough in Maine history to say anything about "betterments," and Mr. Willet could do no otherwise than submit.

D'Aulney then proceeded to make an inventory of the goods, and fix the prices. Willet noticed, however, that he omitted sundry articles in the valuation. After completing the work, he turned them "out of all with a great deal of compliments, and many fine words," which they were not in a mood to receive graciously. But he let them have their shallop and sufficient food to enable them to return to Plymouth.

Their arrival at that place and report of the capture occasioned intense excitement among the colonists. They re-called the robbery of four years before, by which they lost five hundred pounds, and "now to lose house and all did much move them." They could not be reconciled. They resorted to their neighbors of Massachusetts Bay, and consulted them about employing "a ship of force" to retake their lost establishment. These neighbors sympathized with them so far as to approve of their plan, provided they were not expected to bear any part of the charge. The people of Plymouth were satisfied with this, and proceeded to select a ship from the many then lying in the harbor. They at length found one, which they thought

adapted to the purpose, called the "Great Hope." It was of three hundred tons burthen, was well fitted with ordnance, and was under the command of a person who appears to have deemed himself highly competent for the enterprise. He is denominated "one Girling." Cautious, and with a careful eye to their resources, they struck up a bargain with this man which seemed to them promising and safe. He was to "deliver them y^e house (after he had "driven out, or surprised y^e French,) and give them peace-able possession thereof, and of all such trading comodities "as should there be found; and give y^e French fair quarter "and usage, if they would yield." All this he undertook to do for seven hundred pounds of beaver, to be delivered to him when he had accomplished the work. If he was unsuccessful he was to have nothing.

To insure the success of the enterprise, they sent Captain Myles Standish, on whom they relied in their military operations, in their own bark with about twenty men, to aid Girling if necessary, and to deliver him the beaver, which they committed to his care, when the contract was performed, and to give directions in regard to the house if it was regained.

Piloted by the bark, the Great Hope reached the harbor of Penobscot safely. Girling was so impatient to complete his job and obtain his beaver that he opened fire upon the place at once, as if the occupants were savages or wild beasts. Whereas Standish, having regard to military punctilio, would have first summoned the enemy. Besides, there was the order that the place should be obtained, if possible, without resort to force. But Girling was "rash "and heady," and would neither permit Standish to summon the fort nor summon it himself. It might have been that he feared that the result of such a course would be a compromise as to his pay. However, he would take no advice, but "began to shoot at a distance like a madd "man," and his shot did no execution. In the meantime,

the Frenchmen, amused at his folly, lay quietly behind their earth-work and "let him consume himself."

Mortified and disgusted, the Plymouth men remonstrated with him, and to so good purpose that he brought his ship nearer the place and sent some shot with effect. But his powder was soon exhausted, and his guns could be put to no further service. He was now in an uncomfortable predicament; he needed powder to enable him to get home. He had no other resource than to consult Captain Standish. He did so, and that officer undertook to procure him a supply at the next plantation, [Pemaquid,] but receiving intelligence, privately, that Girling intended "to cease on 'ye barke and surprise ye beaver," he did not give him an opportunity to do so, but sent him the powder, and returned to Plymouth with the bark and beaver. Girling did not renew his attack upon the fort, and what became of him does not appear.

This was the first semblance of a battle upon the Penobscot waters of which we have knowledge. It availed the Pilgrims nothing, however, and, as Bradford sadly says, "ye enterprise was made frustrate and ye French incur-aged." It was the end of their business there, but the end of their efforts to reinstate themselves was not yet. They again appealed to their "friends in ye Bay," informing them how they had been abused and disappointed by Girling, and warning them of the probability of the French strengthening themselves and becoming dangerous neighbors. These "friends" professed to give some weight to their communication, and the governor, deputy and assistants, expressed a willingness to aid them with "men and munition;" and wished them to send some authorized person with whom they could enter into an agreement in relation to the business that would be "useful and equal" to both parties.

In compliance with their wish, the Plymouth government sent Mr. Prence, one of their assistants, and Captain

Standish, with instructions, if Massachusetts would agree to so aid them that their joint efforts would be likely to be effectual and would bear a considerable part of the expense, to unite with them, otherwise, as their expenses had already been very great, to take no further action. The puritans of the Bay were quite as careful of their resources as the pilgrims of Plymouth, and declined to contribute any money for the enterprise, but wished them "all good success in ye Lord!"

With this the people of Plymouth relinquished the expectation of regaining their post in Acadia. They were soon after vexed to learn, that the merchants of the Bay supplied their French successors with provisions and powder and shot, and more than this, gave them intelligence of every thing that took place among the English, and that the people of Pemaquid were guilty of like improprieties. Governor Bradford gave it as his opinion that "if these things be not looked too, and remeady provided in time, it may easily be conjectured what they may come toe," and with this oracular piece of Bunsbyism, he closed his reminiscences of "Penobscote."*

About a quarter of a mile southerly of the principal street of the present village of Castine is a plateau, not large but of sufficient extent for a trading establishment. It has a fine beach, and is protected from the intrusion of the waves by a sweep of the shore, and sheltered from the northern blasts by high lands in the rear. Upon this plateau are the last vestiges of the old fort which probably was originated by the pilgrims, enlarged by D'Aulney, and occupied by French and English alternately, for more than a century—"Old Fort Pentagoët," as it is called. It is a spot full of interest to the historical pilgrim, and has attractions that bring to it, year after year, crowds of curious visitors.

* Gov. Bradford's Hist. "of Plimoth Plantation," Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 4th S., 332 et seq.

ARTICLE III.

JEAN VINCENT,

BARON DE SAINT CASTIN.

BY HON. JOHN E. GODFREY,

OF BANGOR.

BARON DE SAINT CASTIN.

OF the history of the family of Jean Vincent, Baron de Saint Castin, we have no knowledge further than that it was a family of position in the town of Oleron, District of Bearn, in the Lower Pyrenees. Inquiries have been made in the last quarter century, and it is said that there are no traditions and no records to be found relating to it, and that all traces of it were lost in the Revolution.

Jean was born about the year 1636. Whether, as Longfellow says,

“When he went away from his fair demesne,
The birds were building, the woods were green,”

we can imagine as well as the poet, but he left his home when about fifteen years of age,* and, with other young nobles, joined the famous regiment of Carignan Salieres,† which formed a part of the French corps of 6000 men furnished by Louis XIV. to Leopold, emperor of Germany, to aid him against the Grand Vizier, Achmet Kiouprougli, who with his Turks had overrun Transylvania and was threatening the German empire.

* Shea's Charlevoix, iii., 294, n.

† The regiment was in the war of the Fronde, and St. Castin might have joined it then, in the Pyrenees.

The head-quarters of Leopold's armies were at St. Gotthard. The great Italian chieftain, Montecuculi was over them. The Turks had reached the boundary; and on August 1st, 1664, they crossed the river Raab and in full force attacked the Imperial troops. The French were in reserve under the immediate command of the Count de Coligné-Soligné, a former chieftain in the war of the Fronde. Martin gives this account of the conflict: "The janizaries
"and spahis crossed the river and overthrew the troops of
"the diet and a part of the Imperial regiments; the Ger-
"mans rallied, but the Turks were continually reinforced,
"and the whole Mussulman army was soon found united
"on the other side of the Raab. The battle seemed lost,
"when the French moved. It is said that Achmet Kiou-
"prongli, on seeing the young noblemen pour forth with
"their uniforms decked with ribbons and their blond pe-
"rukes, asked, 'Who are those maidens?'

"The *maidens* broke the terrible janizaries at the first
"shock; the mass of the Turkish army paused and recoiled
"on itself; the Confederate [Leopold's] army, reanimated
"by the example of the French, rushed forward and charged
"on the whole line; the Turks fell back, at first slowly,
"their faces towards the enemy, then lost footing and fled
"precipitately to the river to recross it under the fire of
"the Christians; they filled it with their corpses."* This
battle closed the war.

The following year the Carignan regiment was transferred to Canada to protect the French settlers against the Iroquois, whose depredations were of so alarming a character as to endanger the existence of the colony. Under the Marquis de Tracy, who had just previously been sent from France as Lieutenant-general, the savages were reduced to submission, and in 1666-7 entered into a treaty with the French which was observed many years.

* Booth's Martin's Hist. France, i., 263.

The great obstacles to the prosperity of the colony being now removed and the services of the regiment no longer required, it was disbanded. As immigration was languid, its late members were induced to settle in the country. The officers, being mostly of noble families, were offered large tracts of territory called seigniories, which they generally accepted, and the rank and file became their vassals.*

These young nobles were penniless, and generally without titles. They were *gentilshommes*—had been educated as such. They were accomplished, gallant, vain, and fitted for society rather than for labor. To be known to labor would be to forfeit position. Those who accepted seigniories were granted a sum of money,—as were their vassals a smaller sum,—but not sufficient to sustain them for any considerable length of time without labor. They spent most of their time in hunting and fishing, not in improving the land, and consequently fell in debt; then they sent their children to trade in furs with the Indians and brought them up in a vagabond way. The Intendant, Champigny, said: “It is pitiful to see their children, of which they “have great numbers, passing all summer with nothing on “but a shirt and their wives and daughters working in the “fields.” †

Parkman classes St. Castin with these *gentilshommes*, and says: “We find him on the shores of Acadia or Maine, “surrounded by Indian retainers, a menace and a terror to “the neighboring English colonist.” ‡ He may have been a *gentilhomme*, but he was too enterprizing and possessed of too romantic a nature to bury himself in a desolate seigniorie in an unpromising country. A free, adventurous life had more attractions. The secret cause of his coming

* Bell's Garneau's Hist. Canada, i., 223.

† Parkman's Old Regime in Canada, 257.

‡ Ib., 261.

to the Penobscot will never probably be revealed.* It will not be too much to suppose, however, that he became attached to Madockawando—who often visited Quebec—and that his imagination was fired by the representations of that chief in regard to the great opportunities that existed there for the hunter, and for obtaining wealth through the traffic in peltry. Five or more years of life in a military camp were sufficient to reconcile him to a future camp-life where there would be no restriction of his freedom. As the French were in a measure free from that English delicacy that nauseates at intimacy with savages, he was not deterred by any consideration of that nature.

The tribe of Madockawando was a clan of the great Abenakis community, called Tarratines—a name given to the eastern Indians by the English colonists, perhaps from Taratouan, a brave Huron chief, to whom the Jesuit missionaries were indebted for protection.† Of them, Wood says in his "New England Prospect:" "Take these Indians in their own trimme and naturall disposition, and they be reported to be wise, lofty-spirited, constant in friendship to one another; true in their promises, and more industrious than many others," and so on, until "some of our English, who to uncloathe them of their beaver coates clad them with the infection of swearing and drinking which was never in fashion with them before, it being contrary to their nature to guzzell downe stronge drinke, until our bestial example and dishonest incitation hath brought them to it; . . . and from overflowing cups there hath been a proceeding to revenge, murther and overflowing of blood."

If the people with whom St. Castin took up his abode had not been corrupted by the "bestial example and dishonest incitation" of the English, and were still possessed

* Sullivan's Hist. of Maine, 93.

† Jesuit Relations, 1637, (Pere Paul le Jeune,) 67.

of the "trimme and naturall disposition" that Wood attributes to them, it is not very surprising that he should have been content in their society.

Tradition gives to Madockawando a high character for ability, courage and humanity. Having been more or less under the influence of the Jesuits, the gravity and seriousness of his speech and the "show of a kind of religion" that Hubbard credits him with can be accounted for. With his high moral qualities and influence, and with a daughter of whom Longfellow gives this description :

"A form of beauty undefined,
A loveliness without a name,
Not of degree, but more of kind ;
Nor bold, nor shy, nor short, nor tall,
But a new mingling of them all ;
Yea, beautiful beyond belief," *

—(if such there were)—and with the prospect of obtaining riches—we may well be assured that the inducements were sufficient to detain such a man as St. Castin in this promising country.

He married the daughter of Madockawando, probably not long after he came to Penobscot. By some authors he is said to have been a colonel, by some a captain, in the Carignan regiment. He was neither the one nor the other. He was simply an ensign in Chambly's company of that regiment.† The Abbe Raynal, in his history of the British

* *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xxix., 334, (1872.)

† *Shea's Charlevoix*, iii., 294, n. *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix., 265, n.

"On the surrender of Acadia for the fourth time to the French, "[*Charlevoix*, i., 462 ; *Shea's Ed.*, iii., 210,] the government of that "province was conferred again on Chevalier de Grandfontaine, who "appointed Baron St. Castin his lieutenant, by whom Fort Penobscot, Maine, was reoccupied about 1680, [*Par. Doc.*, vii., 214,] "where a town at present bears his name. He married the daughter of Madockawando, sachem of the Penobscots, by which tribe

Dominions in North America, says that he was a captain, settled among the Abenakis, "married one of their women, "and conformed in every respect to their mode of life." There were precedents for this, Young Biancourt, son of Poutrincourt, and Charles La Tour, and Edward Ashley, the agent at Penobscot of the Pilgrims, years before, adopted the habits of the Indians.

By thus identifying himself with the savages, St. Castin became the object of their homage; and by his subsequent course he obtained their unbounded confidence. "They "regarded him," says La Hontan, "as their tutelar deity."

He came to Penobscot—Panawanske, as the Indians termed it,—about the year 1667. The chevalier de Grandfontaine took possession of Pentagoët, under the treaty of Breda, in 1670. Previously, it had been occupied alternately by the French and English. In 1674, M. de Chambly was in command of the fort, and was not particularly suspicious of his visitors. On one occasion a stranger called upon him and was entertained for several days, during which time he succeeded in making himself acquainted with the features and strength of the place. This was one John Rhoades, whom the chronicler designates as "an "Englishman in disguise." He had not been long absent before he returned, conducting to the place a Dutch privateer and a force of two hundred men, who took the fort by surprise. De Chambly defended it for an hour, when, being wounded, he surrendered. Although these men pillaged and dismantled the fort, they did not retain possession of it. In the spring of 1676 the Dutch seized it again, but were driven off by some New England vessels.* For some reason the English did not think it an object to retain the possession; they could not have justified themselves to the

"he was adopted and elevated to the rank of chief. Here he drove
"a considerable and profitable trade."—[Dr. O'Callaghan.

* Hutch. Mass., i., 280, n.

French if they had done so. It was at this time that St. Castin took possession of the fort. A French memoir says that he recaptured it as lieutenant of *Sieur de Grandfontaine*, governor of said fort.* Here he carried on a traffic with the savages and with the English, by which he accumulated a fortune of three hundred thousand crowns.† He was subject to many interruptions and annoyances from his own countrymen and the English, who would have been glad of his opportunities for trade without standing exactly in his relation to the savages. He appears to have desired to be on good terms with all his neighbors, especially with the English, with whom a contraband trade was very profitable. Of this he did not always enjoy an immunity, however, for it was indulged in even by French officials, and the eyes of Louis XIV., or of Colbert and Louvois, his ministers, were not keen enough to see clearly through a space of three thousand miles the transactions of these unprofitable servants.

St. Castin had a trading house not only at *Pentagoët* but at *Port Royal* also. His business was not seriously interfered with until 1684.

In that year Col. Thomas Dongan was Governor of New York under an appointment from the Duke of York, and, as such, exercised jurisdiction over the Duke's possessions in Maine. He made a claim to a portion of Acadia and thereby occasioned some anxiety among the government officers in Canada. The Governor of Montreal, M. de *Calieres*, informed the Minister of Marine, in France, that Governor Dongan in May, 1684, wrote to "*Sieur de St. Castin*, commandant of *Fort Pentagouet*," claiming that his government extended from the *Kennebec* to the *St. Croix* river, and ordering him and the French who inhabited that district, "embracing between those two rivers

* N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 918.

† *La Hontan*.

"forty or fifty leagues of the finest country in all Acadia," to quit it immediately, and threatening, in case of refusal, to have them driven off unless they would take the oath of allegiance to the English king; but making advantageous offers to St. Castin and the others if they would recognize him. Callieres feared the influence of Dongan as he was a Catholic having a Jesuit and priests along with him and not wishing a change in religion.* This letter produced no effect upon St. Castin, however. He was more disturbed by the meddling of one of his own countrymen. This was M. Perrot, a former Governor of Montreal; a person of a grasping and quarrelsome disposition, who when in Canada had insulted the Governor-general, Frontenac; wrangled with and caned a fur-dealer; carried on an unofficial traffic with the savages, by which, according to La Hontan, he "multiplied a yearly salary of a thousand crowns by fifty;" fought a duel in which he was wounded; and, finally, by a quarrel with the clergy of the seminary at Quebec made himself so obnoxious that his removal was procured to Acadia, over which country, through the influence of his friends in France with the king, he was made Governor.

On reaching this new field he cast his eyes over it to learn the facilities for adding to his already great accumulations. Finding St. Castin in control of the traffic and with an influence with the natives unbounded, he at once applied himself to the work of getting rid of this formidable competitor, using his personal and official influence to that end. He represented him to the government as a seditious person, and caused him to be arrested for what the Baron termed his "little follies with women," pretending that he had orders to do so from De Nonville, the new Governor-general of New France.

St. Castin knew it would be in vain to attempt to compete with Perrot at Port Royal—his place of residence—and

* N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 265.

withdrew from there ; but he was not of a nature to submit quietly to these persecutions. He therefore wrote to the Governor-general in July, 1687, and informed him of the pretensions of the English ; charged M. Perrot with neglect of the provincial interests, saying that he “pretended “to prevent the English who came to seize on some wines ;” complained of his treatment of him, and referred to M. Pettit, the priest at Port Royal for information as he could not give it without prejudice. He says it was not the little follies that caused M. Perrot “the most sorrow, as I do not “believe,” he proceeds, “there is any man under the sun “whom interest can cause to perform such low actions, “even so far as to deal out with his own hand in his own “house, in the presence of strangers, the pint and half pint “of brandy—not trusting one of his domestics to do this. “I see what troubles him ; he wishes to be the only merchant of L’Acadia—and, if it please God, it may be so “as far as I am concerned, for so long as he will remain in “the country I shall endeavor not to displease him in that “respect. He never has been willing to grant me a furlough to go to L’Isle Perceè,* because he fears that I shall “go as far as Quebec ; neither would he allow me to send “to Boston for millstones for a mill which the company at “Port Royal had desired me to build for them, although “he had promised beforehand—before we had undertaken “to build the mill ; and now that the mill is finished and “the millstones paid for, he has changed his mind and has “no objections to send there M^{ons}. Villebon, who has returned only fifteen days ago, and who will go back to “Boston about the commencement of September in order

* A small island betwixt Chaleur Bay and Gaspé Bay, near the entrance of the River St. Lawrence, and called now, I believe, Bonaventure Island. At that time (1687) it contained a Franciscan convent, with a few friars, and seven or eight settlers.—[N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 477.

“to bring back the bark he has built there.” He intimated that M. Perrot had much clandestine intercourse with the English, and had “whispered in his ear that if any Englishman “came in these quarters [Port Royal] he must not speak “of it, and that he must *say nothing*.” Thus the Baron exposes the objectionable conduct of the Governor, apparently not able to restrain his pen when once let loose against a person who had done him so much injury.

The wines referred to by St. Castin were a cargo conveyed to Pentagoët in 1686 by the *Jane*—a Piscataqua vessel under the command of one Syuret—on account of Nelson and others, and delivered, agreeably to the bills of lading, to St. Castin at a quarter of a league distant from his house, he and all the parties believing the peninsula to be within French jurisdiction. But James II.—then king—was making claim to Acadia through his agents, John Palmer and John West, who, by their zealous labors in his behalf, had made themselves obnoxious to the people. On learning of the arrival of the wines these agents sent a force and seized them as contraband,* thereby increasing the dissatisfaction against them among the English and the French.

The next year they followed up this proceeding by sending a company of fifty men to take possession of Pentagoët and all the coast eastward as far as St. Croix, agreeably to the notice given by Dongan two years before, and forbidding St. Castin and his two French neighbors two miles distant, as well as the Indians to whom they made presents, to regard any orders coming from the French authorities.

These transactions caused great excitement among all the people, and the government at Boston issued a circular warning the New England fishermen against visiting the

* French and English Commissaries, ii., 328. Mass. French Archives, iii., 187, 188.

eastern coasts lest they should be held to answer for the depredations of others. Nelson complained to M. Perrot of the seizure of the wines, and that officer wrote to the French minister under date of Aug. 29, 1686, saying that Nelson had "always traded to the coast and greatly benefited the settlers by the large loans he made them in their seasons of greatest necessity," and represented that he had St. Castin's permission to discharge his vessel at his place, and did so in good faith; and hoped that, since he had been permitted to supply the French who had not provisions enough to render them independent of foreigners, the French king, maintaining his territorial right, would cause his goods to be restored to him. In his letter M. Perrot could not avoid making an ungracious reference to St. Castin, saying that he "offered only a feeble resistance" to the taking the goods.

In matters pertaining to jurisdiction St. Castin took no part. In his letter to De Nonville, he said that he "had nothing to answer the English—that he was nothing but a private citizen, merely an inhabitant of the place"—but that if there had been no Governor in the country he should have tried to prolong the affair until he had received orders from him.

The French government took notice of the seizure of the wines, and through Barillon, its ambassador at the English court, demanded and obtained their release.

St. Castin at length had the satisfaction of being relieved from the persecutions of M. Perrot, who, because of misconduct, was deprived of his office; though he was in the country for some time afterward, trading in his barks along the coast, until he was taken by pirates and robbed. He finally saved enough from the wreck of his fortune to establish his family advantageously in France.

M. de Menneval succeeded M. Perrot in the government of Acadia. Although in his instructions from the minister the references to St. Castin were not complimentary—hav-

ing been suggested, perhaps, by M. Perrot—yet he treated him amicably. The Baron was to be “coerced from his vagabond life and trade with the Indians, &c., and his illicit trade with the English, which he alone follows, and to be urged to pursue a line of conduct more becoming a nobleman.”*

These instructions were dated April 5, 1687. On September 15, 1687, a communication from Pentagoët informed De Menneval, that the fort there was very advantageous to the coast of Acadia and that thirty soldiers would enable St. Castin to maintain himself against the constant insults of the English, who wanted to get him out of the way and gain over the savages; that with a little help he could establish an effectual force of four hundred savages, the more easily as they were natural enemies of the English and had entire confidence in him. M. de Menneval was directed to inform St. Castin, that “if he chose to alter his course and assume one more becoming a gentleman, his majesty would be pleased to pardon for the past by making a solid establishment.” This proposition was accompanied by the remark, that “that there was reason to hope that he would contribute towards the construction of the fort at Pentagoët, having the reputation that he had amassed considerable property.” The Baron was shrewd enough to comprehend these overtures. It does not appear that he provided the government with the means, or that the fort was rebuilt.

This fort, it is supposed, stood on the site of the Plymouth trading house of 1626-7, and was the fort of D'Aulnay. Vestiges of it are in existence. During sixty years it had been occupied by the English, French and Dutch successively. In 1670, Sir Thomas Temple, who had claimed this portion of Acadia under a patent from Cromwell in 1656, surrendered it under the treaty of Breda to the chevalier

* Murdoch's Nova Scotia, i., 174.

de Grandfontaine. This was then the condition of the fort :

On entering it, upon the left hand was a guard-house about fifteen paces long by ten broad, and upon the right a house of similar dimensions of hewn stone covered with shingles. Above these was a chapel six paces long by four broad covered with shingles and built with terras, upon which was a small turret with a bell weighing about eighteen pounds. Upon the left hand on entering the court was a magazine of two stories, built of stone, about thirty-six paces by ten, covered with shingles, very old and out of repair. Under this magazine was a little cellar in which was a well. Upon the right hand of the court there was a house of the same length and breadth of the magazine, half covered with shingles, half uncovered and very much out of repair. Upon the ramparts were twelve guns weighing in all 21,122 pounds. In the fort were six murderers without chambers weighing 1200 pounds. Two eight-pounders were on a plateau facing the sea. Thirty or forty paces distant from the fort there was a building twenty paces by eight used as a cattle house, and about fifty paces from this a square garden inclosed with rails in which were fifty or sixty trees bearing fruit.

It is thought that St. Castin erected a house within or near the walls of the fort. Tradition locates the orchard on the upper side of the street westerly of the fort, and it is alleged that some of the trees were removed to Sedgwick and bore apples in 1873.

James II. was proclaimed king in Boston April 20, 1685. On December 19, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros, who had been in New York, appeared in Boston with his commission as Governor of New England. The papist king was hated in New England and his agents were hated also. All Andros's official acts were carefully watched and criticised and the most unfavorable construction was put upon them. He was not a papist himself, yet he came to be as cordially

disliked as his master. He sought to faithfully carry out the wishes of the king which was anything but agreeable to the people of New England.

In the performance of his duties, it was important that he should make himself acquainted with the condition of affairs in the east ; and with this view he visited Maine in the summer of 1688. From Boston he went by land to Piscataqua where he embarked on board the frigate *Rose*. Making the journey one of pleasure as well as of business he sailed among the islands of Casco Bay, and was rowed many leagues up the Kennebec River, and thence by "easy motions" voyaged to Pemaquid. There he remained three days, during which with his company he refreshed himself with "sheep and soules," and inquired into the condition of the fort at Pentagoët. Then, providing himself with carpenters, boards, nails and necessary stores, with the intention of rebuilding the fort, he set sail for the peninsula ; and his curiosity was excited in regard to this singular Frenchman—this Baron de St. Castin—who, it was rumored, had three or four Indian wives, went hunting with the Indians, had a trading-house and sold arms to them in the wars, did "not like to be under the French government, desired to live indifferent;" and Andros thought to bring him under obedience to the king.

Capt. George of the *Rose*, by the Governor's direction, had sent his lieutenant to inform St. Castin of the intended visit, whereupon the Baron closed his house and with all the inmates retired. Andros was disappointed at finding the place deserted ; nevertheless with the gentlemen of his company he made a thorough inspection of the establishment. In the common room he found merely a small altar, some pictures and ordinary ornaments, which he allowed to remain undisturbed. Elsewhere he found arms, powder, shot, iron kettles, chairs and cloths used in traffic. These he caused to be seized and conveyed in the frigate to Pemaquid "in condemnation of trading," as he said. He,

however, caused notice to be given to Madockawando, that if the Baron would acknowledge allegiance to king James and demand his goods at Pemaquid, they should all be restored. As the fort was very much dilapidated he concluded not to rebuild it. On his return to Pemaquid he summoned in all the Indian sachems and made them presents of shirts, rum and trading cloths, with a conciliatory speech, telling them not to fear the French, that he would defend them, and to call home all their young men and they should live undisturbed.*

The English and French nations were now at peace. The French claimed that under the treaty of July 7, 1670, Acadia was restored to them, including the fort of Penta-goët, "Wherefore," says De Nonville, "it is to be noted that Sr Andros, Governor of Boston, ought not to have,

* Hutchinson Papers, (Randolph's Letter to Povey,) 562.

Andros went to see Madockawando himself, and gave him fourteen blue blankets, twelve shirts, three rolls of cloth and two barrels of wine.—[M. Pasquine's Remarks concerning Acadia, dated Versailles, December 14, 1688.—[Mass. French Archives.

Hutchinson says that St. Castin and Madockawando both deceived the government about redeeming captives, and that the latter "proved a most virulent enemy."—[Hist. Mass., i., 351.

There were various rumors about St. Castin's wives. Among the evidence collected in Massachusetts against Andros was the "Observation" of Edw. Taylor, Caleb Ray and Robert Scott, "that after Sir Edmund Andros had sent the Rose Frigott eastward and had robbed Casteen, a French man that had married two Indian women, the Indians did not come to their town but in a hostile manner, although before that time they used to come frequently and traded with them."—[Andros Tracts, (Prince Coll.,) i., 155.

De Menneval wrote December 1, 1687: "The Sieur de St. Castin is absolute master of the savages—the Canibas—and of all their business, being in the forest with them since 1665, and having with him two daughters of the chief of these savages by whom he has many children."—[Mass. French Archives, vol. iii., 281.

"this year 1688, plundered Sieur de St. Castin, at Pentagouet, as he has done." *

Among the people of New England, the proceeding was "esteemed not a little to have stirred up and furthered the "succeeding troubles." It is natural to suppose that St. Castin was indignant against those who were concerned in the transaction. Randolph, from whom comes the fullest account, says "it was supposed that he went and acquainted the governor of Port Royal of it." Increase Mather, who furiously denounced Andros and called his standing forces, "a crew that began to teach New England to Drab, "Drink, Blaspheme, Curse and Damm," asks, "What good "did that Frigot do New England? unless this were so, "that it fetched home the Plunder of Castaine, upon which "began the Bloody Warr." It is said, that Madockawando visited Boston after the affair, and stated that the Baron was highly affronted at it, and that "a great war was apprehended." This was after James was deposed and Andros removed. The new government at Boston, in a respectful address to St. Castin, disclaimed any sympathy with Andros in his treatment of him and proposed generous terms of arrangement.† It is not stated that he rejected the overtures.

* N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 380.

† The enmity that existed in New England against Andros made the people glad of this opportunity of criticising him. In a tract published by the inhabitants of Boston in 1691, entitled "The Revolution in New England Justified," he is charged with "involving "the countrey in a War with the Indians, by means whereof he hath "occasioned the Ruine of many Families and Plantations, yea the "Death or Captivity of we know not how many Souls. *For he "went (with the Rose Frigat) and violently seized and took and "carried away, in a time of peace, all the Household Goods and "Merchandizes of Mounsieur Casteen a Frenchman at Penobscot "who was Allied to the Indians, having married a Daughter of "one of their Princes whom they call Sagamores or Sachems; "and when this was done, it was easie to foresee, and was generally*

It is true, that in the August afterward there was a collision betwixt the English and the Indians. The former were establishing themselves in North Yarmouth and building a garrison on the easterly side of Royall's River. The Indians, who complained that the treaty stipulations of the English had not been complied with by the payment for their corn which had been destroyed by the cattle of the English, who were taking up their lands and fishing berths and leaving them to perish with hunger, deemed this new establishment a "direct encroachment," and made an attack in which three whites and several Indians were killed. This was followed by the arrest of some twenty Indians on a magistrate's warrant at Saco and their imprisonment in Fort Loyal, and this by reprisals by the Indians at Sagadahoc and New Dartmouth [Newcastle.] Houses were plundered and prisoners taken—some of

"concluded, that the *French* and *Indians* would soon be upon the "English, as it quickly came to pass."—[Andros Tracts, i., 118, ii., 50.

In "A Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmund Androsse and "his Complices," by several gentlemen of his Council, is the following : "The Governours *Seizing and Taking away the Goods of "Monsieur St. Castine* of Penopscot, the Summer before the War "broke forth, which thing hath been esteemed not a little to have "stirred up and furthered the succeeding Troubles."—[Ib., 145.

In "A Vindication of New England," this occurs : "But does "nobody know how the French and Indians became their" [the eastern people's] "Enemies? Who was it that Rob'd *Castien* (a "Frenchman) who had married amongst the Indians?"—[Ib., ii., 50.

In "An Answer to Andros's Account," is the following : "Was "destroyed all but four or five houses and New-Towne (New Dartmouth) all but one by the Indians in the time of Sir Edmund "Andros's Government, done as was supposed in revenge of Sir "Edmund's seizing Casteen's house and taking thence all his arms "and merchandise and household goods in time of profound peace ; "the said Casteen having married an Indian Sachim's daughter, "and so the Indians were allied to his Interests.—[Ib., iii., 35.

whom were killed,* and others sent to Ticonic [Waterville.] But there is no evidence whatever that St. Castin incited the Indians to these acts. On the contrary, the evidence is, that he rendered the English service, which he certainly would not have done if he had been so unreasonable as to revenge himself on innocent people for an act of Sir Edmund Andros that they deprecated. He ransomed John Royall who was taken prisoner on the evening of the skirmish at Royall's River.†

There were other and deeper causes for the war predicted by Madockawando. The Jesuits were scattered all over New France. That country had hardly been taken possession of by the French before they were at their work converting the savages. Biard was at Penobscot in 1612, Le Jeune at Quebec in 1634, L'Allemants, the Bigots, La Chasse, Rasle, and many others, were scattered over the French dominions in this century. Ever jealous of Protestantism they were continually stimulating the savages against the English, as well as using their influence with the governors to put every obstacle in the way of their extending their settlements into the Indian territories. Thierry was at Pentagoët in 1688, and, although not a Jesuit, he was a virulent enemy of Protestantism and undoubtedly incited the Indians under his charge to the acts of violence that occurred this year.

After the flight of James II. to France, the war which succeeded between that country and England afforded the Jesuits an opportunity to carry out their designs against the English in the countries adjoining New France; and if the true history of their machinations shall ever be written,

* Williamson's Hist. Maine, i., 607 *et seq.*

† Maine Hist. Coll., i., 289. Mr. Willis makes this statement, when two pages before he represents St. Castin as among the "active and cruel agents of the period;" without giving his authority.

it will doubtless appear, that they were the chief instigators of the outrages perpetrated by the savages upon the isolated settlements of Maine, and especially of those that were attributed to St. Castin. "The missionaries," says Garneau, "feared above all things the proselytism of the Protestants. Thus the government and the clergy had an interest that the Canadians should all be soldiers." The clergy were almost the only instructors of the people, who were ardent Catholics, and "excited [their adventurous spirit] to an enthusiastic degree." *

The administration of De Nonville not proving satisfactory, Frontenac was sent into Canada a second time in 1689-90. His ability and vigor rendered him popular with the clergy as well as with others, and "his return was hailed by all; but by none more than the Jesuits, who had, in fact, for years before, labored to obtain his recall." †

The war was declared in Boston, December 7, 1689. Frontenac at once organized three expeditions of French and Indians, and dispatched them against the English early in 1690. The first surprised Schenectady, New York, and massacred the inhabitants in their sleep. The second made a raid on Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, and was somewhat successful in its butcheries. The third under Portneuf, composed of Canadians, regulars from Acadia and Abenakis, made a descent upon Falmouth, [Portland,] or *Kaskabè*, as the French called it, where it was joined by Madockawando and a large number of his tribe, who went in canoes and were accompanied by St. Castin.

This latter party on the 17th of May, made an attack upon Fort Loyal, which stood near the foot of what is now India Street. Captain Sylvanus Davis was in command of this fort. He had a force of about seventy men, with eight cannon, and defended it bravely until the 20th, when

* Bell's Garneau's Canada, i., 317.

† Ib., i., 298.

he was compelled to surrender. And here Mr. Williamson implicates St. Castin in an act of the grossest perfidy. He says, that by the articles of capitulation, "it was stipulated "that all within the garrison should receive kind treatment "and be allowed to go to the nearest provincial towns "under the protection of a guard; to the faith and observ- "ance of which Castine lifted his hand and swore by the "everlasting God. The gates were then opened, when a "scene ensued which shocks humanity. The prisoners, "who were seventy in number, besides women and chil- "dren, were called heretics, rebels and traitors, the dupes "of a Dutch usurper, and treated with every insult and "abuse."

It does not appear upon what authority this statement relating to St. Castin is made. It cannot be correct. Captain Davis, who is the English authority in regard to the surrender, says it was the "Governor of the French," who took this oath. St. Castin was not there as a commander, certainly not as governor of the French. That governor was Portneuf. But Charlevoix, from whom we have the French version, says, "Portneuf told the Governor, [of the "fort,] that he must expect no conditions but surrender "as a prisoner of war with all his garrison." The larger part of the captured were left in the hands of the Indians and were badly treated by them; but Davis, the two daughters of Lieut. Clark, who was killed in the defense, and some others were taken by the French to Quebec and kindly cared for. Davis said, "They were kind to me in "my travels through the country." It does not appear that St. Castin took any part in the attack. Certainly he was not prominent; if he had been, some record would have been made of the fact.

After the war was declared, as was natural, St. Castin took the part of his country; and it was natural, too, that the English should think that he would take advantage of the opportunity to be revenged for the injury done him by

Andros. "The Indians informed some of their captives," it is said, "that Castine furnished every Indian engaged "against the English with a pound of powder, two pounds "of lead and a quantity of tobacco." * This may be true, but it wants confirmation. It was known that he was aiding the French by giving them information of the situation of New England, and by insisting in their behalf that the English should deliver up the chevalier d'Eau, whom they held as a prisoner, and conform to the laws of honorable warfare, if they would have his good offices in procuring the release of their countrymen—prisoners in the hands of the Abenakis.† These things, with the fact that he was with the Indians at Fort Loyal, perhaps led the "Governor "of Boston" to think that he would be justified in procuring the abduction of St. Castin which he attempted in this wise :

In the fall of 1692, Arnaud de Vignon and Francis Albert—French deserters—brought letters from that "very "gallant gentleman," John Nelson, of Boston, who was a prisoner in Quebec, to the authorities in Boston informing them of an expedition that was fitting out to attack the eastern settlements of the English ; also of the friendliness of Madockawando—who was there—which he hoped to improve by proposing the establishment of a "trading "house up Penobscot River as far as Negas," as the Chief was not entirely satisfied with the French, and brought him "daily advices." ‡ These deserters had been bribed by Nelson, and the authorities thought they would make use of them further in the project to kidnap St. Castin. Jaques Petipas and Charles de Loreau, sieur de St. Aubin, of Acadia, with their families, were at this time in Boston as

* Hutch. Hist. Mass., i., 325-6.

† Monseignat to the Minister, French Documents (in Mass. Archives,) vol. iv., 113.

‡ Murdoch's Nova Scotia, i., 200.

prisoners. As these persons were very anxious to return to their homes, they were sent with the deserters to bring off St. Castin,—their families being retained. On reaching French territory, however, instead of aiding in the arrest of St. Castin, they concluded to trust their families to the common sentiments of humanity, and exposed the whole scheme to the French. The deserters were seized and sent to Quebec where they were shot before the eyes of Nelson. That gentleman was sent to France and imprisoned in the Bastille, and did not reach his family in Boston again until after an absence of eleven years. On November 9, 1692, the chevalier de Villebon, Governor of Acadia, issued an "edict," setting forth that he, in concert with D'Iberville and De Bonaventure, captain and lieutenant of the "frigate "Légare, now anchored at the Isle of the Desert Mountains," had ordered the clerk of the Lord's company to furnish St. Aubin and Petipas goods to the value of five hundred and fifty-four francs "for the important service "they had just rendered to Canada," by delivering up the two deserters "who had carried letters to the English, and "who had come back with the intention of capturing M. "St. Castin and of giving him up to the English."

This attempt to kidnap or assassinate St. Castin, whom Champigny describes as a "gentleman esteemed among the "Indians," prompted Frontenac and that Intendant to urge on the fortifications of Montreal and Quebec that they might not be surprised." *

Nelson's letter was sent from Boston on August 26th. In that same month Governor Phipps commenced the erection of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid; and when the French arrived there and found that their coming had been anticipated, the attack upon the place was not attempted.

After this, the history of the eastern coast for several years embraces a series of depredations and reprisals al-

* N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 552-3.

ways attended with more or less barbarity. St. Castin does not appear to have taken any part in these. In May, 1695, a body of Indians went in fifty canoes to Rutherford's Island and met a body of English to mediate an exchange of prisoners. A French memoir says "Sieur de St. Castin "took charge of the business alone in the name of the "Count de Frontenac. A more attached or intelligent "agent could not be selected."*

But arrangements of this kind were only temporary. The belligerents had no faith in each other, and killing, scalping and taking captive, became the absorbing employment of both parties. Fort William Henry was under the command of Captain Pasco Chubb, and in February, 1696, three chiefs, Egeremet of Machias, Abenaquid of Penobscot, Toxus of Norridgewock, and other Indians, visited the fort to make an exchange of prisoners. Chubb and his men, sore on account of barbarities recently perpetrated, rashly fell upon these chiefs and slew the two former. The fierce Toxus, with others, escaped. This act was a breach of good faith and aroused the already excited savages to a state of fury. Vengeance upon Chubb was from that moment decreed.

Not many months had elapsed before they imagined that their opportunity had come. In the summer of the same year, Frontenac sent another expedition—under D'Iberville, an energetic and skillful Canadian officer—to reduce the fort. There were two ships, L'Envieux, commanded by D'Iberville, and La Profonde, commanded by De Bonaventure. After capturing the Newport,† an English twenty-four gun ship, somewhere off Mt. Desert, (which he sent into St. John,) D'Iberville proceeded to Pentagoët to make his arrangements for the attack upon Pemaquid. He had been

* Williamson's Maine, i., 641. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 642.

† It is not improbable that Newport Mountain derived its name from that prize.

directed to take here a reinforcement of savages who, it was understood, were eager for the adventure. He found that some had already gone on a marauding expedition, but about two hundred and fifty were awaiting his arrival. After completing his preparations, he gave his savage allies a feast and distributed among them the presents sent by Frontenac, amounting in value to four thousand livres, which increased their enthusiasm. He then set sail. The Indians set off in canoes with St. Castin and the priests, Thury and Simon. Two officers, De Villieu and De Mortigny with twenty-five soldiers accompanied them.*

The fort was invested on the 14th of August. It was formidable, and in a well selected and commanding position. It was about two leagues from the seaward terminus of the peninsula and near the margin of an extensive plateau overlooking the westerly harbor by which it was approached from the sea. The cost of its construction was nearly £20,000, and it was the strongest fortification in the East. Fifteen cannon bristled from its embrasures. Its magazine was under a large rock at its westerly angle. Ninety-five soldiers constituted its garrison, and Charlevoix says, "if it had been defended by brave men the result of the siege might have been different. Nothing required for a long defense was wanting; the powder-magazine was proof against all but bombs, and even against them except a small spot, because a rock against which it rested formed part of its vault and walls, and nothing could be better devised or more convenient than the quarters for the officers and men."

D'Iberville landed two mortars with bombs and two guns with shot from his ships at a half a league distance from the fort. Villieu's command and the savages were

* "They embarked to the number of two hundred and forty, under the command of Sieur de St. Castin."—[N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 658.

upon the easterly side, having approached, probably, from New Harbor which lies on the opposite side of the peninsula. Upon being summoned to surrender Chubb responded in the tone of a braggadocio. Whereupon there was a discharge of musketry by the savages which was answered by a discharge from the fort. The operations of the first day closed without result.

On the second day, the guns and mortars had been placed in position. A second summons to surrender proving no more effectual than the first, six bombs were discharged into the fort and created great confusion amongst the besieged. Taking advantage of the opportunity, St. Castin, from motives of policy or humanity, caused a letter to be conveyed into the fort urging a surrender, and saying that D'Iberville had instructions to grant no terms if the fort were taken by assault, and that it might be conceived what would be the fate of the garrison if it should fall into the hands of the savages.

The communication had the desired effect. Chubb consented to surrender on condition that his command should be protected on leaving the fort and conveyed safely to Boston, and agreed that a like number of prisoners should be returned. Upon these terms the garrison marched out unarmed, and were transported in shallops to an island under the guns of one of the ships. The savages were disappointed at being thus deprived of their victim, and when afterward they found in the fort one of their people half dead and in irons so heavy that, according to Father Badouin, it took him nearly two hours to file them off, they were infuriated.

The fort was taken possession of by De Villieu and his soldiers; and was shortly after dismantled and destroyed. Chubb and his men were conveyed to Boston, and he was thrown into prison for surrendering the fort without making defense. After several months he was liberated, and returned to his family in Andover, where he was

found and murdered by the Indians about two years afterward.

We know little of the history of St. Castin after the capture of Pemaquid. Madockawando died in 1697-8, and St. Castin disappeared from the country soon afterward. On October 4, 1698, Villabon says, that Alden bought furs of, and sold goods to, a son-in-law of St. Castin and three other Frenchmen at Pentagoët.* No mention is made of the Baron. On June 21, 1699, M. Tiberge said that Castin traded with the English. This might have been his son Anselm who succeeded him at Pentagoët.†

On November 10, 1686, M. De Nonville wrote from Quebec to the Minister respecting "Sieur de St. Castin, who is "a gentlemanly officer of the Carignans; he is very daring "and enterprising. . . . They assure me that he has recently come into the inheritance in France of £5000 a "year, that he is a man of sound understanding, hating the "English, who fear him." M. de Brouillan, who was appointed Governor of Acadia on the death of M. de Villabon, wrote from Port Royal on October 30, 1701, to the Minister, "The Sieur de St. Castin, whom they accuse of carrying "on trade with the English, returns to France to render an "account of his conduct. It is certain that he has kept in "the interest of France the savages of the frontier where "he dwells." He probably left America about that time. In 1703, several Englishmen plundered his son's house and "made great spoil" while professing friendship for him.‡ One of the Baron's daughters said to Colonel Church, who took her prisoner in 1704, "that her husband was gone to

* Murdoch's Nova Scotia, i., 243.

† Ib., 244.

‡ Hutch. Hist. Mass., ii., 126.

"France to her father."* In 1701, D'Iberville was planning an expedition to attack Boston the following year, and suggested that on leaving France, in order to make arrangements, he would pass through the villages of "Pan-ahaamsequit" [Penobscot] and "Cainbequi," and consult with "Mr. de St. Castin, who is thoroughly acquainted with "Boston."† It is uncertain whether he referred to the Baron or his son. At this period, the historians confound them with each other.

If St. Castin lost the appellation of *gentilhomme* by becoming heir to a fortune of £5000 per year so early as 1686, it is somewhat remarkable that he delayed his return to France to secure it for nearly twenty years. Yet for some unaccountable reason it was so; and the probability is, that in consequence of this delay his estate was lost altogether to himself and his family. He must have died long prior to 1708, for M. de Subercase, in that year, wrote from Port Royal to the minister, that his son was kept out of his estate in France on pretense of illegitimacy, notwithstanding he had full evidence of his heirship by the certificates of the missionaries; being resisted by the Lieutenant-general of Oleron, the first chicaner of Europe, who had for long years enjoyed the property.‡

While it is undisputed that St. Castin for many years lived disreputably among the Indians, yet there is reason to believe, that after the year 1687, he changed his habits and lived quite as respectably as his sovereign did under the tutelage of Madame de Maintenon. That he was early lawfully married to a daughter of Madockawando is probable from the fact that his son had the priests' certificates of his

* Drake's Indian Wars, 261.

† N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 731.

‡ Murdoch's Nova Scotia, i., 304. Ib., 337. In October, 1713, Anselm St. Castin had given up his views of family property in France.

legitimacy. By a statement of De Menneval, dated December 1, 1687, it would appear that he then had no wife, as he "promised to quit the life he had led up to" that time,* and, as by another statement of the same officer dated September 10, 1688, he was then married.† In 1693, he was living at Pentagoët with his wife and one child. The idea prevailed in New England that he had several wives at one time, but the fact that he was a Roman Catholic precludes that belief, unless he abjured his religion and justified himself under some "Latter-day" savage regulation. Of this there is no evidence.

By the French, St. Castin was esteemed "a man of sound understanding," "daring and enterprising," "a zealous and intelligent agent," and "quite solicitous of honor." By the English he was "suspected to be a false friend."‡ Mr. Parkman's representation that he was a "terror and a menace" is hardly sustained. That he was the former, after Andros's visit to Pentagoët, is true; but this appears to have been the effect of suspicion merely. He might have entertained unfriendly feelings towards the English, but they were not manifested by any act of cruelty. His redemption of Royall, and the part he took at the siege of Fort William Henry, are evidence that he was humane and not revengeful. And the French writers, when they say that he hates the English, say almost in the same breath, that he makes presents to the savages to restrain them from taking vengeance upon the English. He perhaps did hate Andros, and he disliked M. Perrot, but the worst thing he did to the latter has a little the ap-

* Mass. French Archives, iii., 281. He was in the forest with the savages since 1665, "having with him two daughters of the chief "of these savages by whom he has many children."

† *Ib.*, iii., 317. "He has quitted his traffic with the English, his "debauchery with the savages; he is married."

‡ *Hutch. Mass.*, i., 325.

pearance of a severe practical joke. He was instrumental in the purchase of two vessels by that gentlemen, and when they were purchased, he (M. Perrot) could not man them. Not an inhabitant would go on board, and he was obliged to employ English fishermen. These stole a greater part of his fish, and, in order not to fail, he was compelled to return the vessels to the seller and relinquish the fish that remained. Had St. Castin wished him success, with his influence and wealth, he could very readily have contributed to it; he probably used them in another direction.

St. Castin was evidently not mean or ungenerous. Some pirates, having taken a fly-boat of twenty-two tons burthen belonging to him, gave the crew a long-boat that they had stolen to enable them to get to Port Royal. St. Castin afterwards recovered his fly-boat, and made amends to the owners of the long-boat for its use or loss.

The people of New England were wrong in suspecting St. Castin of a disposition to injure them. His object in the country was money. He was a shrewd business man, and was successful in his contraband trade with his English neighbors. His interests were on the side of peace, and he must have deprecated a war or anything that would interrupt his business intercourse with them. From some cause, the Tarratines were more inclined than the other tribes in Maine to be on friendly terms with the English during the St. Castins' connection with them. We have seen that Madockawando lent a willing ear to Nelson at Quebec, and there can be hardly a doubt that St. Castin had an influence with that chief, whom M. Pasquine characterizes as "a brave, upright man, of acute and subtle understanding," and gave him and the tribe to understand that it was not for their interest to be unnecessarily unfriendly towards them. His idea was, as Randolph says, to "live indifferent," that is, as a neutral, and maintain a good understanding with all his neighbors.

So far as he could be consistently with his business, he

was true to his position of "*gentilhomme*." He would not labor upon the soil; did not till it; and he kept no cattle. He and Renauld and Deslines had houses, but they were burned in the war, and he was obliged to bury his treasure and conceal it in out-of-the-way places to secure it against the depredations of the vagabonds who infested the peninsula.*

Matilda, the mother of his son Anselm and daughter, Anastasia, (who married *Sieur Alex^r Belleisle*,) was probably his first wife, and the daughter of Madockawando. Her Christian name only appears in the record of those children's marriages. The name of his second wife has not been perpetuated. Marie Pedianskge is the recorded name of the mother of his daughter Therese, who married Philip de Pombomecou. Marie may or may not have been the Baron's second wife.† La Hontan, who was in the

* In a memoir of M. Tiberge, dated Fort Naxua, (Fredericton,) October 1, 1695, he says: "I have known but three inhabitants of "the River Pentagoët, namely, M. de St. Castin, who is said to be "worth more than 40,000 livres; a man named Renauld, who is "employed by the same De St. Castin in the capacity of a servant, "and a man named Deslines. This last has a wife and children—"so has also De St. Castin, but they are squaws, which they have "kept for a long time and afterward married. They all three had "some habitations, but since the war the English have burned them, "so they are now obliged to hide their merchandise far in the woods "so as to have them secure from plunder."

A French memoir in the Massachusetts Archives says that in 1693, the inhabitants of Pentagoët were St. Castin, aged fifty-seven, his wife and one child; Jean Renauld, aged thirty-eight, his wife and four children; and Des Lines, aged forty, his wife Jeanne Granger, and three children.

In 1689, there were there, one priest; one married man; one boy under fifteen years of age; and one married woman.—[Mass. (French) Archives, iii., 379.

† In the French records in the office of the Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, in Halifax, is the following:

country from 1683 to 1694, says, "he has never changed his wife, by which he meant to give the savages to understand that God does not love inconstant folks." He had many children, some of whom, if not all, were quite well educated.

While, according to the English standard, St. Castin was not a moral man during the earlier years of his residence at Penobscot, whatever it might have been in the opinion

"31 October, 1707, Gaulin, missionary priest of the Seminary of Quebec, being at Port Royal, married (F. Justinian being absent) Anselm de St. Castin, Baron de St. Castin, son of Sieur Jean Vincent, Baron de St. Castin, and of dame Matilde, of the parish of the 'Sainte Famille' at Pentagouet, and damoiselle Charlotte d'Amours, daughter of Sr Louis d'Amours, ensign of a company at Port Royal, and of dame Marguerite Guyon, of the parish of Quebec.

[Signed] "ANSELM DE ST. CASTIN,
 "CHARLOTTE D'AMOURS DES CHAUFOUR,
 "SUBERCASE, BONAVENTURE,
 "D'AMOURS DE CHOUFOURS
 "DE LA BOULARDERIE,
 "AN. GAULIN, PR. MISS."

"4 December, 1707, married, le Sieur Alexandre le Boigne de Belleisle, son of le Sr Alexandre Belleisle, ecuyer, seigneur en Partie de l'Acadie, and of dame Marie de St. Etienne, to the damoiselle Anastasie de St. Castin, fille du Sieur Vincent, ecuyer, Baron de St. Castin et de dame Mitilde, 'en presence des temoins soub-signés, fait à Pentagoet,'

"BELLEISLE,
 "ANASTASIE DE ST. CASTIN,
 "ANT. BORDENEAU,
 "ANSELME DE ST. CASTIN,
 "GAULIN, PRÊTRE MISSIONNAIRE."

"4 December, 1707, Philip de Pombomcou is married to Therese de St. Castin, daughter of the Baron and of dame Marie Pidi-anske."

of the French, yet he was a religious man; and, in the street language of our day, he was a *smart* man. He was very generous—made large presents to the Indians—and his doors were ever open to the stranger and the wayfarer. The Romish priests found a home at his residence, which they designated as the “Parish of the ‘Sainte Famille,’” and probably repaid his hospitality by educating his children.

ARTICLE IV.

“CASTINE THE YOUNGER.”

BY HON. JOHN E. GODFREY,

OF PANGOR.

“CASTINE THE YOUNGER.”

THE Baron Jean Vincent de St. Castin came to the country once styled Panaouamske, now Penobscot, about the year 1667. He intermarried at different times with native women, the first of whom is supposed to have been a daughter of the celebrated Tarratine Sachem, Madockawando. It was rumored among the English that he had three or four Indian wives at the same time.* There is no proof of this. He lived with different Indian women; but he never changed his wife.† By his first wife, Matilde, he had several children; by his last, Marie Pidianskge,‡ he had one or more. Several of his daughters were well married to Frenchmen. Anastasie, a daughter by Matilde, married Alexander le Borgne de Belleisle, and Therese, a daughter of Marie, married Phillipe de Pom-bomecoup, a grandson of Charles Amador de la Tour and Jeanne Motin D'Aulney.§ There were other daughters. He had also two sons, Anselm, by Matilde, and Joseph Dabadis. The historians, Sullivan and Williamson, confound these with each other under the name of “Castine the younger.”||

* Hutchinson Papers, 563; Andros Tracts, i., 155. Mere rumor.

† Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, i., 141, 205.

‡ Probably.

§ Bangor Centennial, 25.

|| Sullivan's History of Maine, 262; Williamson's History of

Anselm was the more distinguished of the two and is sometimes designated the Baron de St. Castin; consequently he is confounded with his father by some historians. He first comes under our notice at the siege of Port Royal, in 1707.

Daniel Augur de Subercase was then Governor of that place. In the spring, Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, sent several ships with a force of about fifteen hundred men to reduce it. Colonel March was in command of the expedition, and, after several attempts, returned to Casco Bay without having accomplished any thing.

Anselm de St. Castin was conspicuous in the defense. He was sent by Subercase with a detachment, consisting of eighty French and Indians, to intercept a force of three hundred English who were in pursuit of cattle. He had the direct command of the Indians. An ambuscade had been formed, but with six of his Abenakis, or Tarratines from Panaouamske, he left the main body and made an advance in sight of the enemy and killed six of their men; then rejoining the command he charged the English so resolutely that their whole force was driven back to camp in disorder. Sixty Canadians had arrived at Port Royal, a short time before, and rendered good service in the defense; but Subercase reported to the Minister that but for the presence of the Baron de St. Castin he could not have answered for the result.*

The failure of this expedition created great dissatisfaction in Massachusetts; Colonel March and his subordinates, Colonels Wainwright and Appleton, were much censured. Governor Dudley, however, was not discouraged. He strengthened the force and sent it back, with the same

Maine, ii., 69, 144; Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, ii., 246, 286.

* Shea's Charlevoix, v., 194; Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, i., 289.

officers, under three members of the Council—Colonels Hutchinson and Townsend and Mr. Leavett—who had as full powers to superintend and direct as the Governor would have had if he had been present.

On the twentieth of August, the ships were again before Port Royal; but neither officers nor men were in proper condition of health or spirits to insure favorable results; indeed, many of them were raw recruits. On the other hand, the French force, though small, was in good fighting condition, and with the accomplished soldier, Subercase, in command, well prepared to receive the invaders. The Governor placed great reliance on St. Castin and sent him, with one hundred and fifty men, to ambuscade the enemy. This he did effectually. When they had come within pistol shot, he poured upon them three successive volleys which caused them to fall back toward their boats. Subercase sent Boularderie to reinforce St. Castin, with one hundred and fifty men and orders to follow the enemy if they attempted to re-embark, and followed, himself, with one hundred and fifty men, leaving Bonaventure in command of the fort. Burning with impatience, Boularderie made too swift pursuit, and with but sixty or eighty men fell upon the enemy leaping from one entrenchment into another until he was disabled by two sabre-cuts. Anselm, with one Antoine de Salliant, followed eagerly and took Boularderie's place when a hand-to-hand conflict with hatchets and clubbed muskets ensued, in which from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred English were driven fifteen hundred paces towards their boats. Anselm and Antoine were both wounded and disabled, and their men retired towards the woods. The English officers, seeing this, rallied their men and pursued until the French faced about to receive them, when they withdrew after firing several volleys. Shortly after, Subercase sent Granger, a brave inhabitant, with Boularderie's detachment to attack the English, who did not wait but re-embarked in haste and

confusion; and on the first of September they were on their return to Massachusetts.*

St. Castin was wounded severely in the thigh. He gained great credit for his gallantry. About two months afterwards he was married, by Father Gaulin, to Charlotte d'Amours, daughter of Louis d'Amours, Sieur de Chaffours, at Port Royal, in the presence of Subercase, Bonaventure, the bride's father, and Boularderie.† Whether, like Desdemona,

"She loved him for the dangers he had pass'd,"

no Shakespeare informs us.

Between the years 1707 and 1710 the French manifested a strange indifference to the military necessities of Acadie; and, when Governor Dudley in the latter year sent General Nicholson, with thirty-six ships and thirty-four hundred men, again to invade Port Royal, it had neither means of subsistence nor defense. Many of the people were so destitute that Subercase gave them his shirts and sheets from his bed to keep them from suffering.

This officer made such preparations for defense as he was able, but more probably had his mind upon terms of capitulation. Nicholson was four days in landing and making preparations for the attack, during which time there was some firing on both sides but no great loss on either. After his arrangements were completed, Nicholson summoned the garrison to surrender. Subercase made a virtue of necessity and obtained very favorable terms; and the successful General was obliged to give food to the people to save them from starvation.

Anselm de St. Castin was with Subercase, and Major

* Shea's *Charlevoix*, v., 199; Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, ii., 155.

† Bangor Centennial, 25; Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 163, 171, 329.

Livingston* with Nicholson. As it was necessary to submit the Articles of Capitulation to Vaudreuil, the Governor-general of New France, and to make arrangements for an exchange of prisoners, these two officers were selected by the several commandants to go as messengers to Quebec for the purpose.

They left Port Royal about the middle of October. On arriving at Pentagouët—now Castine—Livingston became the guest of St. Castin, who resided there in what the Priests called the "Parish of the St. Famille," and was hospitably entertained by him. When every thing was in readiness, they took three Indian guides with canoes and proceeded up the Penobscot-river, intending to make the journey as far as possible by water.

Presently, they came to the island of Lett,† where they met with fifty canoes and twice as many Indians, besides women and children, on their way from Winter Harbor, near the mouth of the Saco River. There had been with them two English prisoners, taken at Winter Harbor a little before; but one of them, whom his captor had taken with him, on a hunting excursion to a neighboring island,‡ had

* Robert, afterwards proprietor of Livingston Manor, N. Y.

† The circumstances render it more probable that this was Orphan, or Wetmore's Island, (Verona) than any other. A party of savages had, a short time before this, been engaged in hostilities against the English, not far from Winter Harbor, and killed three whites and taken six captives. This portion of the party was probably on its way to winter quarters.

Mr. Williamson thinks Lett was, probably, Oldtown. I cannot see the grounds of the probability.

‡ Probably Brigadier's Island.

NOTE.—Since this article was written, Ex-Governor Washburn, in a note in the volume containing his able centennial address at Orono, claims "Marsh Point," at Orono, on Marsh Island, as the place of this occurrence, and that the prisoner made his escape from Oldtown or Orono Island, which lies above Marsh Point. Is it probable that he could have avoided capture in his voyage down the river in view of the hundred Indians? Orphan Island was a resort of the

made his escape with the savage's gun and canoe. It would not be a great stretch of the imagination to suppose that the refreshments of which this son of the forest had partaken rendered him oblivious to the movements of his prisoner; and that the latter had no conscientious misgivings as to his right to take advantage of the means and opportunity afforded him to get back to Winter Harbor. However this might have been, the savage, two days after the arrival of St. Castin and Livingston, found his way back to his party, without canoe, captive, or gun, threatening vengeance against all Englishmen; and when he saw Livingston he rushed upon him, and seizing him by the throat, raised his tomahawk to dispatch him, and would have done so had not Anselm thrown himself between them. This accident was the occasion of the detention of Livingston, by the Indians, for several days; but St. Castin's influence was such that he procured his release, and they were on the route again by the fourth of November.

On the next day after they had started again, the Major's canoe was upset and lost, with his gun, and one of the guides was drowned.* Soon after this, the ice began to form and so chafed and tore the bark of the canoes that the party was obliged to leave them and perform the remainder of the journey on foot.† Guided by the compass, they passed over plains and mountains, around the heads of rivers and lakes, through forests of pine-wood and under-wood, through thickets of spruce and cedar, nearly impenetrable—at times wading through deep snows.

Indians, and is just the place they would be likely to make a long tarry at in going up the river, especially when time was of little value to them. I am still of the opinion that Verona was the Island of Lett.

* This was probably soon after they reached the head of the tide, where the rapids first appeared. It was about a day's voyage by canoe, from Orphan Island, at that season of the year.

† They might have followed up the Stillwater branch, and crossed the country by Moosehead Lake.

They were in storms and fogs for more than a fortnight, during which time they never saw the sun. Six days before they reached any human habitation their supplies were exhausted, and they were obliged to resort to moss, leaves, and dried berries, to sustain life.

It was a long and perilous journey. They did not arrive at Quebec until the sixteenth of December, when they were nearly exhausted by their labors and privations. The Governor received them handsomely, and made every provision for their comfort and recuperation.

The news of the fall of Port Royal caused Vaudreuil much mortification. The French who remained in Acadie were "utterly at the mercy of the conqueror;" and the capitulation had "somewhat cooled the Indians," he said; but he did not abandon the hope of recovering the lost territory. He immediately set to work to regain the confidence of the savages and to reestablish the French influence over them; for, retaining their ancient rights in the territory, they could aid him greatly in his designs. It was important to have some one invested with French authority among them upon whom he could rely, and one who would be least obnoxious to the English. He selected Anselm de St. Castin. M. Raudot, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance, concurred with him in the propriety of the appointment. In his letter to the Minister, M. de Pontchartrain, Vaudreuil says: "M. Raudot and I have concluded that we could do no better for the public service than to send Baron de St. Castin immediately back, the rather as the principal affair at present regarding his Majesty's service in those parts is the management of the Indian allies there, over whom Sieur de St. Castin possesses great influence; but as it is proper to compensate him, in some sort, for the loss he has just experienced at Port Royal, and also to authorize him to command the French in those parts, as well as the Indians, I have given him, subject to the King's pleasure, a commission of Lieuten-

"ant, and M. Raudot has handed him the emoluments "thereof."**

As Subercase, two years before, had written to the same Minister in relation to St. Castin—informing him that he was kept out of his estates, in France, under pretence of illegitimacy, although he had the certificates of the missionaries and full evidence of his heirship—"this poor "boy," he says, "has to do with the first *chicanier* of "Europe, and Lieutenant-general of the town of Oleron, "in Bearne, who, for long years, enjoys this property"† and recommending that he be made Lieutenant-general of Pentagouët, with a salary—that official was prepared to approve the action of Vaudreuil, in approving the appointment.

Anselm's commission was dated the first of January, 1711. His rank was that of Lieutenant *en pied*. The Marquis d'Alogny, Commandant of the troops, was ordered to recognize him as such, and to pay him his salary.‡ As the missionaries were a power among the savages, Vaudreuil impressed it upon those in Acadie to be unremitting in their endeavors to retain them in the French interests.

After Anselm had returned to Pentagouët, he and Father Gaulin conceived the project of retaking Port Royal—which was under the command of Colonel Vetch—and St. Castin sent forty Abenakis, under one l'Aymalle, to assist in the enterprise. The party obtained some advantages over the English, of all which Vaudreuil was duly informed by Father Felix Cappes, and commenced making preparations for sending aid. It was shortly afterward

* New York Colonial documents, ix., 854.

† Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, i., 304. This language implies that Anselm's father was dead. He was in France with the husband of his daughter, in 1704.—[Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, i., 272; Church's Indian Wars, 261.

‡ Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, i., 329.

reported that the English were making extensive preparations for the conquest of Canada; and the project was abandoned.*

The Treaty of Utrecht, by which France surrendered to England all Acadie, with Port Royal—afterwards called Annapolis Royal, now Annapolis—and Newfoundland, was signed on the eleventh of April, 1713. Cape Breton and the other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence remained to France. The rights of the Indians were not affected by the Treaty, and Anselm's authority continued to be recognized by them. He had now abandoned the expectation of recovering his family estates in France, to give his attention to affairs at "Panamske and Narantsouak."†

Father Rasle, a learned Jesuit, had been with the Indians, at Narantsouak, since 1688. Father Lauverjait was with the Indians at Panamske, from 1718. While Toxus, a fierce war-chief of the Norridgewocks, was living, the Priests had his aid in keeping the Indians true to the French; but in 1721, he was dead; and the influence of the English increased so rapidly that Rasle became alarmed and wrote to Vaudreuil informing him of the fact. The latter immediately procured a delegation from the Abenakis of St. François and Beaucour, to accompany Father La Chasse, the Superior-general of the Missions, to visit their brethren at Narantsouak and Panaouamske to encourage the friends of the French among them.

In August of that year, the French succeeded in getting together about two hundred Abenakis from Norridgewock and Penobscot, and they appeared at Arrowsic island in ninety canoes where they had a conference with Capt. Penhallow who commanded the English there. The object of their visit was to demand that the English should remove from certain lands, on which the Indians alleged

* New York Colonial Documents, ix., 858, 859

† Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, i., 337.

they had encroached, within three weeks. The demand was accompanied by a threat that their cattle should be killed and their houses burned if they failed to comply.

La Chasse and Rasle were leading spirits evidently in this conference. The expedition was deemed hostile by the English; and, as Anselm St. Castin was present with his people in the dress pertaining to his office, he was considered as partaking of the spirit of the party.

When the Government at Boston was informed of the presence of St. Castin at Arrowsic, an order was issued for his arrest.

When he had returned to Pentagouët, and was attending to his own affairs, an English vessel commanded by a person with whom he was acquainted anchored quietly in the harbor. Being invited on board by the Master, to partake of some refreshments, he went unsuspectingly for there was nothing apparently that indicated hostile intent. He had hardly got on board, however, before, to his great astonishment, the sails were hoisted and he was on his way to Boston! On his arrival there, he was cast into prison.*

This proceeding was the occasion of much unfavorable comment in Massachusetts. There were those who thought it no crime in St. Castin to be with the Indians at Arrowsic, and that to abduct him from his home, in a part of the country over which Massachusetts had never exercised jurisdiction as against his people, and imprison him for no particular crime, was unjustifiable. The House of Representatives, however, ordered that he be tried by the Superior Court of the County of Suffolk. The Council did not concur in this, but voted to send for witnesses that the Court might determine the proper course of procedure. This was not agreeable to the House, and the case stood.

A Committee was afterwards appointed to examine St. Castin; and he so well satisfied them that wrong had been

* Shea's Charlevoix, v., 274.

done him by these proceedings, that they reported that he should be discharged. In reply to interrogatories, he said: "I received no orders from the Governor of Canada to be present at Arrowsic. I have always lived with my kindred and people—my mother was an Abenakis—I was in authority over them. I should not have been true to my trusts if I had neglected to be present at a meeting wherein their interests were concerned. My uniform is required by my position, which is that of a Lieutenant under the French King. I have the highest friendship for the English. My disposition is to prevent my people from doing them mischief; and my efforts shall be to influence them to keep peace.*

After the disagreement of the two Houses, there was a growing sentiment in favor of the captive. The Government wanted peace with the Indians; to have punished St. Castin as a traitor would have destroyed all prospect of it; their jurisdiction over him was, at least, questionable; and to try him in one country for a crime committed in another was improper. The report of the Committee was readily accepted by both Houses and Governor Shute approved the action. Vaudreuil had previously written to Governor Shute, complaining of St. Castin's imprisonment and demanding his discharge, but received no reply.†

St. Castin was imprisoned in December, and released after five months' confinement. By some he was considered a "very subtle fellow," and as having influenced the Committee by heartless professions. There seems to be no doubt however, that whatever his feelings might have been towards the English he was desirous to keep his people at peace; and he encouraged their disposition to be on terms of friendship with them; and neutralized in a

* Shea's *Charlevoix*, v., 274. Williamson's *Hist. Maine*, ii., 108.

† Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, ii., 246. Shea's *Charlevoix*, v., 275.

great measure the efforts of Lauverjait in the other direction.

Rasle was killed in 1724, and, believing it a good time to propose a Treaty with the Indians, the English sent a hostage and a captive on their parole to the Penobscots to sound them upon the subject, in the winter of 1724-5—Father Lauverjait was then in Canada—and, prompted by St. Castin, they gave a favorable answer to the messengers, who conveyed it to the English fort at St. George, in February.

Unfortunately, in ignorance of this commencement of negotiations, Captain Heath with a Company from Kennebec went across the country and attacked the French and Indian fort and village at the head of the tide, on the Penobscot, where were fifty or sixty dwellings, which he found unoccupied, and destroyed them.*

This interrupted the negotiations; but after explanation they were renewed in June. A fatality appeared to attend them, however, at every step. In July, a Captain John Pritchard, in an English vessel, took a small bark belonging to Anselm's younger brother,† Joseph Dabadis, lying near Naskeag-Point, (Sedgwick) with a quantity of beaver and other property, and committed other outrages upon him. Dabadis made this the subject of a remonstrance and a claim for damages, on Lieutenant-governor Dummer.

The story is told by Dabadis, in his own English, in the following letter to Lieutenant-governor Dummer:

"PENTAGOET, 23d July, 1725.

"*Sir*:—I have the honour to acquaint you that the 9th of
"this present month as I rode at anchor in a small harbor
"about three miles distant from Nesket, having with me

* Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, ii., 286. The remains of this fort are still visible.

† Probably.

“but one indian and one Englishman whom j had redeemed from the savages, as well as my vessel, j was attacked by an English vessel, the Commander of which called himself Lieutenant of the King’s ship, and told me also his name, which j cannot remember.

“Seeing myself thus attackt and not finding myself able to defend myself, j withdrew into the wood forsaking my vessel. The Commander of the vessel called me back, promising me with an oath not to wrong me at all saying that he was a merchant who had no design but to trade and was not fitted out for war, specially when there was a talk of peace, and presently set up a flag of truce, and even gave me two safe conducts by writing, both which j have unhappily lost in the fight. Thus thinking myself safe enough, j came on board my vessel, with my indian and my Englishman, whom j brought to show that j had no thoughts of fighting, and that j had redeemed him from the indians as well as the vessel. But as j was going to put on my cloaths to dress myself more handsomely the Commander who was come in my vessel with severall of his people would not permit me to do it, telling me j was no more master of anything. He only granted me after many remonstrances to set me ashore.

“But after j came down and they held forth to me a bag full of bisket that was given to me as they said as a payment for my Englishman. They did catch hold of me and the indian who accompanied me, j got rid of him who was going to seize upon me, but my indian not being able to do the same, j betook myself to my arms—and after several volleys j killed the man who kept him, and got him safe with me. This is the second time that j have been thus treacherously used, which proceedings j do not suppose that you approve of, being against the laws of Nations. Therefore j hope that you will do me the justice, or that at least you will cause me to be reimbursed of the loss j have sustained.

"Namely

"For the vessel that costed me 80 French pistoles; for
 "the Englishman 10 pistoles; 51 pounds of beaver that
 "were in the vessel with 20 otters, 3 coats that have costed
 "me together 20 pistoles; 56 pounds of shot that costed
 "me 20 pence a pound; 2 pounds of powder at 4 livres a
 "pound; 20 pounds of tobacco at 20 pence a pound; a
 "pair of scales 8 livres; Tow cloth blankets each 23 livres;
 "Tow bear skins 8 livres apiece; 4 skins of sea wolf 8
 "livres for the four; 3 axes 15 livres for both; 2 kettles, 30
 "livres for both, and severall other matters, which they
 "would not grant me, so much as my cup. The retaken
 "Englishman knoweth the truth of all this, his name is
 "Samuell Trask of the Town of Salem near to Marblehead.

"j have the honour to be

"Sir

"Your most humble & most

"obedient Servant JOSEPH

"DABADIS DE ST. CASTIN."

This matter was probably arranged satisfactorily, for a cessation of arms between the English and Indians was agreed upon, and finally, an excellent Treaty, called "Dummer's Treaty," was signed at Casco, on the fifteenth of December, 1725, which was quite well observed by the latter, until the fifth Indian War which succeeded the French Declaration of War, on the fifteenth of March, 1744.

The Dummer Treaty and a subsequent one made with the Penobscots, in 1727, exceedingly annoyed the French; and Lauverjait did not rest until he obtained a Declaration from the Chiefs, certified to by himself and St. Castin, that it was but a Treaty of Peace, Amnesty and Accommodation between the two nations. He also wrote a letter to Vaudreuil, from Panaouamske, dated the seventeenth of August, 1727, in which he said that the Chiefs of the

village begged him not to doubt their fidelity to him, and to be assured that the English, by all their presents and all their articles, could not separate them from the French, nor make them forget their religion; that, if necessity and a want of resources had obliged them to make peace it would not prevent their joining the French again, as soon as they declared war against the English. This letter was accompanied by a paper confirming his assertions, to which he had procured the names of the Chiefs.

From the following letter of Lauverjait to Father La Chasse, it would seem that St. Castin was sincere in his protestations of friendship towards the English, or at least was disposed to keep faith with them; and that Lauverjait found him a great obstacle to his schemes with the Indians. That Father was greatly enraged against both him and his brother; and it is probable that the French Governors considered the priest's zeal quite equal to his discretion, for his representations had no immediate effect.

"PANAOUAMSKE,* JULY 8, 1728.

"*Very Dear Brother:*—The insolence of the Messrs. de "St. Castin has come to be so excessive, that they no "longer set bounds to it, in their conduct to me or before "God.

"The elder, who does not care to marry, and not satisfied with spreading corruption through the whole village, "in addition to that now makes a business of selling "brandy, openly, in company with his nephew, the son of "M. de Belle Isle. They have been the means of one man "being drowned already on account of it, and are like to "be the destruction of many others. The younger of the "Messrs. de St Castin never comes into the village without "getting drunk in public and putting the whole village in "an uproar.

* This village was either at the head of the tide or at Oldtown. Probably at the former place.

"Both of them, prompted by the supplies they receive, pretend to be on my side and in the interests of the King, but behind my back they do not cease to work against me and to oppose every enterprise I undertake, in the service of God and the King.

"Excessively puffed up with the commission and with the salary they have obtained from the King, through M. de Vaudreuil, the earth is not good enough for them to stand upon. They believe that they have a right, through this commission, to rule absolutely, and to seize and dispose of everything at their will; and if any one thinks of opposing them they threaten him with nothing less than death or massacre.

"They are going to Canada; and they will not fail to boast of their services, and to seem very much attached to the interests of the Colony. But here is what I believe, before God,

"That, before the savages had begun the War against the English, they did everything in the world they could to prevent their undertaking it—and this in spite of all the exhortations I made to the savages, on the part of M. de Vaudreuil, and notwithstanding all that M. de Vaudreuil had said to them himself.

"That, after I had, in spite of them, engaged the savages to determine upon a war against the English, they broke up the first expedition I had formed, and prevented it from starting.

"That, after I had organized another war-party, and had sent it off, they stopped it on the way, and would have absolutely prevented the war from breaking out, if I had not gone down to the sea-shore and persuaded my people to proceed with it.

"That, not having been able to prevent the attacks upon the English, they pretended to be neutral (except that they made money out of the booty taken from the En-

"glish—and that for two whole years) on the pretext that they were Frenchmen and not natives.

"That, when they could no longer abstain from deciding for one side or the other—M. de Vaudreuil having given them to understand, particularly, that their qualities, as Frenchmen, did not take from them their rights and, consequently, their duties, as savages—the younger, actually and in earnest, did go on an expedition, and signalized himself; but the elder contented himself with showing himself once only, and, although he received a hundred affronts from the English, by whom he was taken twice, by treachery, and robbed, yet far from dreaming of taking his revenge on them, he had sought their protection and asked favors of them.

"That towards the end of the war, when I went to Canada, by your orders—the English having sent a hostage here, during my absence, to propose peace—the Messrs. de St. Castin were the first to suggest that a favorable answer should be made to the English, and disbanded an expedition that had just set out, by my orders to make reprisals on the English, who had treacherously sent an expedition against us, the previous winter, while at another point they assured us concerning peace.*

"That since that time, the same gentlemen have not ceased to urge the savages to make peace with the English, and to accept their propositions, without caring what the French might think about it.

"All this I am positively certain about, and am ready to make oath to, and this, added to all the other irregularities that these gentlemen are guilty of, such as selling at false weight and at false measure, cheating people so out of one-quarter to one-third of all they buy, is sufficient

* Evidently the Heath Expedition, while negotiations were going on, at St. George.

"reason that their pay should be stopped, and that that they have not drawn of their salary should be confiscated."*.

By a letter from the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor† of New France, to the Minister, Maurepas, dated the first of October, 1731, it appears that communications had been received from St. Castin to him, although he did not go to Canada, himself, that year, to the effect that the English were forming considerable establishments in the neighborhood of the Indian territory, and probably would render themselves masters of it, by force—an opinion which the Governor appears to have entertained himself.

In 1736, the French counted upon two hundred warriors, at Penobscot, as connected with the Government of New France;‡ and, by a letter from Beauharnois, dated the eighth of October, 1744, they agreed to unite with the French, in an expedition against Annapolis; and were supplied by him with belts and hatchets.§

I have not yet been able to find anything further relating to the St. Castins, after 1731.

Nothing more is known of Dabadis, than appears in this paper. He evidently is the "Robardee" mentioned by Williamson,|| and supposed, by Captain Francis, to have been the son of "Castine, the younger." He, unquestionably, was Castine, the younger brother of Anselm; but Anselm must have been the Baron's elder son, who was conspicuous, in Acadie, in the early part of the eighteenth century.

* This letter was translated from the French, by Henry M. Prentiss, Esq., of Bangor.

† This was the immediate successor of Vaudrenil. He was a natural son of Louis XIV. He was Governor from 1726 to 1747.

‡ New York Colonial Documents. ix., 991, 1052.

§ Ibid, 1107.

|| Williamson's History of Maine, ii., 71.

ARTICLE V.

BASHABA

AND THE TARRATINES.

BY HON. JOHN E. GODFREY,

OF BANGOR.

BASHABA AND THE TARRATINES.

THE readers of the first English chronicles of Maine are early introduced to the word Bashaba (spelled in various ways) as the title of a Chief or Chiefs, and, taking it for granted that the authors knew whereof they wrote, pass on without stopping to inquire whether it was the title of a Superior, or simply the name of an individual who occupied the position of a Superior.

In the *Journal of Weymouth's Voyage* of 1605, we find :
"JUNE 1. Indians came and traded with us. Pointing to
"one part of the main, eastward, they signified to us that
"the Bashebe, their king, had plenty of furs, and much
"tobacco."*

Strachey mentions the province of Sabino, "so called of
"a Sagamo or chief commander under the graund bassaba."
In another place he says, "early in the morninge the sal-
"vadge departed in their canoas for the river of Pemaquid,
"promising Captain Gilbert to accompany him in their
"canos to the river of Penobscot where the bassaba
"dwells."†

Gorges says: "That part of the country we first seated
"in seemed to be monarchical, by the name and title of a

* Belk. Am. Bi. ii., 139. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., iii., viii., 140.

† Maine Hist. Coll., iii., 303.

"Bashaba."* In other places he calls him "the Bashabas."

Captain John Smith, who was on the coast of Maine, in 1614, says that certain tribes held "the Bashaba to be the "chief and greatest among them, though the most of them "had Sachems of their own."†

Hubbard says: "In the chief places more eastward, "they called the chief rulers that commanded the rest, "Bashabeas, as in the more westward plantations they "called them Sagamos or Sachems."‡

All the authors above named wrote in the seventeenth century, and neither of them could have had an intimate acquaintance with the customs of the savages of Maine. They all had the idea that there was a Chief with the title of Bashaba, eastward of Sagadahoc, more powerful than any other Chief, and that all others in that region were subordinate to him.

There is reason for the belief that they were in error in treating Bashaba as a *title*. The fact probably is, that there was a Chief more powerful than the other chieftains in his neighborhood, whose *name* was Bashaba or Betsebes.

Champlain, who sailed up the Penobscot, (called by him the Norumbega,) in 1605, writes: "Now I will leave this "discourse to return to the savages who had led me to the "rapids of Norumbega; who went to inform Bessabes, "their Captain, and gave him warning of our arrival.

"The 16th day of the month came to us about 30 savages, on the assurance given to them by those who had "served us as guides; also came the said Bessabes to us "that same day with six canoes. As soon as the savages "who were on the shore, saw him arrive, they all began to "sing, dance and leap until he had alighted; afterwards "they all sat down in a circle on the ground, following that

* Brief Narration, Maine H. S. Coll., ii., 61.

† Williamson's Hist. Maine, i., 464.

‡ Hist. of New England, 30.

"custom when they wish to make some speech or festival. Cabahis, the other Chief, soon after arrived, also, with 20 or 30 of his companions, who withdrew to the other side, and rejoiced greatly to see us, inasmuch as it was the first time they had ever seen Christians.

"Some time afterwards, I went on shore with two of my companions, and two of our savages who served as interpreters, and I charged the persons on our part to approach near the savages and hold their arms ready to do their duty if they should perceive any disturbance in his people toward us. Bessabes, seeing us on shore, made us sit down, and began to smoke with his companions, as they ordinarily do before making their speeches, and made us a present of venison and game. All the rest of the day and the following night, they did nothing but sing, dance and feast, awaiting daylight; afterwards, each one went back, Bessabes with his companions, on his part, and we on ours, much pleased with having become acquainted with this nation."*

The Jesuit missionaries were with the savages upon the Penobscot as early as 1611, and upon such terms of intimacy with them that they had the best opportunities to become acquainted with their principal men, and with their systems of government. They mention no Chief bearing the title of Bashaba, but in their *Relation* of 1611, mention is made of three Captains, "Betsabes, Oguigueou and Asticou,"† and of the "Sagamo of Kadesquit, called Betsabes."‡

Of the first four authors quoted above, neither had seen the person called Bashaba; neither of them had visited his place of residence, and they knew where it was only from hearsay. Hubbard wrote in the latter half of

* Champlain's Voyages, Chap. iii.

† Relations des Jesuits, i., Ch. iii., 8.

‡ Ibid, Ch. xxiv., 62.

the century, and got the idea that the chief rulers were called Bashabeas, probably from Gorges' expression "the "Bashabas."

But Champlain, as appears by the above extract, and the Jesuits, had a personal acquaintance with Bessabes. In the third chapter of the *Relation* of 1611, there is an account of an interview with him and the other Captains mentioned; and in the twenty-fourth chapter, they say: "On our first visit and landing at St. Savior, we made as though the place did not please us, and that we should go to another part; the good people of the place wept and lamented. On the other hand, the Sagamo of Kadesquit, named Betsabes, himself came for us to allure us by a thousand promises, having heard that we proposed to go there to dwell."

Mr. Thornton, in his *Ancient Penaquid*, gives the name of the Chief, Lord, or Sagamore of Mawooshen, as Bashabez.*

It is difficult to determine of what tribe Bashaba was Chief. His place of residence was, probably, Kadesquit, or some point above. It is there the Jesuits locate him. The other authors do not give him any definite locality, although Champlain saw him in that neighborhood.

By some it is supposed that the ancient head-quarters of the Eastern savages were upon the plateau known as the "Brimmer Flats" in Brewer, and opposite the mouth of the Kenduskeag, which flows into the Penobscot at Bangor, and that this was the locality of the mythical great city called Norumbega.†

* Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., v., 156.

† If there was ever a town at this point, it must have been prior or subsequent to the visit of Champlain. He says: "From the entrance [about *Ile au Haut*] to where I was, which is about 25 leagues, I saw no city, nor village, nor appearance of there having been one; but, indeed, one or two savage huts where there was nobody."—[*Voyages*, Chap. iii.]

At the period of which we write, there could have been no spot in the East more eligible for an Indian seat of government than this. It was remote enough from other tribes, and from it easy communication was had with the sea. Fish were abundant in the rivers, and it was in the centre of the game and fur region.

The extent of the dominions of Bashaba is unknown. Mr. Poor, in his *Vindication of Gorges*, says, that his authority "extended to Narraganset Bay."* Mr. Thornton says, that his dominions were watered by nine rivers, of which Quibiquesson was on the east, and the Shawacotoc, or Saco, on the west.†

Gorges designated the dominion of Bashabas, Moasham, and bounds it on the west and southwest by the country of Sockegones, and on the east and northeast by the country of the Tarentines.‡

Notwithstanding Gorges deems Bashaba the Chief of some other people than the Tarratines, is it not probable that he was in reality their Chief? Williamson says, that "all the old authors, Smith, Purchas, Winthrop, Prince

"Some supposed it to be a collection of Indian huts, and others "an ancient town. In Ogilby it is conjectured to be the ruins of "an ancient town, which the natives called Arambeck, and had de- "serted it."—[Sullivan's Hist. of Maine, 269.

"Yet most have formerly agreed upon *Norumbegua* or *Arampec* "as the Natives call it; said to be a large, populous and well "built town, and to be situate on a fair and capacious river of the "same name also. But later observations tell us there is no such "matter; that the river which the first relations did intend is Pemp- "tegonet, neither large nor pleasant; and that the place by them "meant is called *Agguncia*, so far from being a fair city, that "there are only a few sheds or cabins, covered with the barks of "trees, or the skins of beasts."—[Heylin's *Cosmographie*, Lib. iv., Part ii., 107, Tit. Canada.

* Popham Memorial, *Vindication*, 50.

† Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., v., 156.

‡ Maine Hist. Coll., Brief Narration, ii., 61 *et seq.*

"and Hubbard, agree that the general name of the natives upon the Penobscot was Tarratines."* But Smith says: "The principal habitations I saw at the northward was Penobscot, who are at war with the Tarrateens, their next northerly neighbors," and Gorges says, "the war growing more violent between the Bashaba and the Tarratines." If Bashaba's abode was at Kadesquit, and he was not the Chief of the Tarratines, that people must have been further north. In this case, the "old authors" cannot be correct in applying the general name to the natives upon the Penobscot.†

The early writers were confused by the different names applied to the tribes, and give no very reliable information relative to them, or to the extent of their dominions. The idea prevails at the present time that the Penobscots are the descendants of the Tarratines. But who were the Tarratines? It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain their origin or the origin of their name. Mr. John Gilmary Shea mentions the conversion of "the powerful tribe of the Abenakis, or Tarenteens, as the early English settlers called them."‡ The French do not appear to have applied that name to them; still it is not, probably, of English origin. Gorges says, "this Bashaba had many enemies, especially those to the east and north-east, whom they [the savages] called Tarentines."§ Father Vetromile thinks the name was derived from Atironta, a brave Indian who rendered many services to the first mis-

* Hist. of Maine, i., 464.

† Heylin mentions *Nansic* as a river of the Tarentines, "one of the chief nations of this tract," meaning the country of New England west of Norumbega and the Penobscot.—[Cosmographie, Lib. 4, P. 2, 110.

‡ The Catholic Church in the United States, 18.

§ Brief Narration, Maine H. S. Coll., ii., 61.

sionaries.* It is more probable that it was derived from Taratouan, the name of another brave chieftain who took the missionaries under his protection.†

Wood says, in relation to the New England savages: "The country as it is in relation to the Indians, is divided "as it were into shires, every severall division being "swayde by a severall King, the Indians to the east and "northeast bearing the name of Churchers, and Tarren- "teenes."‡ It is not probable that the tribes occupied with reference to the bounds of the then New England. Purchas places the Tarratine country in forty-four degrees forty minutes.§

Mr. Kidder says, "they [the Penobscots or Tarratines] "occupied the country on both sides of the Penobscot Bay "and River, and that their Chief or Bashaba was said to "have been acknowledged as far as Massachusetts Bay."|| Mr. Kidder may be considered as authority for the locality of their dominions, and for the fact that Bashaba was their chief. Gorges was doubtless wrongly informed as to the Tarratines and their Chief, the whole of the Penobscot region having been theirs, and Bashaba the *name* of the person who held the position of principal Chief or Superior.¶

* The Abenakis, Maine H. S. Coll., vi., 208.

† Jesuit Relation of 1637, Chap. xiv., 65.

‡ New England's Prospect, Part ii., Chap. i.

§ Pilgrims, 939.

|| The Abenakis Indians, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vi., 232.

¶ The Baron La Hontan says, there are some "erratic Nations, "who go and come from Acadia to New England, and go by the "names of Mahigans, Soccokis and Openango." The other tribes in Acadia, he says, are the Abenakis, the Micmac, the Canibas and the Etechemins, the first three of which have "fixed habitations." He makes the *Kenebeki* the western boundary of Acadia.—[Voyages, i., 223, 230.

Lescarbot mentions a captain of the savages, named *Bessabes*, who was killed by the English and was succeeded by *Asticou*.—[N. France, Vol. iv., Ch. xv., p. 534.

Purchas says "*Bashabes* hath many under captains called "*Sagamos*."—[Book viii., Ch. v., p. 756, Tit. "Of Virginia."

See note by Dr. Ballard, Hist. Mag., Vol. iii., 2d Se., 249, April, 1868.

NOTE TO ARTICLE I,

ENTITLED

“THE ANCIENT PENOBSCOT.”

By the last census of the Penobscot Tribe of Indians, deposited in the State archives at Augusta, as taken by the Superintending School Committee of Olatown, the number was 455. Within the last quarter of a century there has been a great change in the appearance and habits of these people. Many have frame houses, some of which are handsomely finished and furnished. Among the men are tolerable farmers and expert river-men in lumbering operations, but the manufacture of canoes, baskets and bead-work is still continued. Quite a number do quite a good business in their wares at the watering places in the summer.

They long since discontinued the use of the blanket as an article of wearing apparel, and the dress of men and women is similar to that of their white neighbors. They still love brilliant colors, and river-men not unusually make a display in scarlet trowsers. They affiliate somewhat with the French, and their complexion is gradually approximating to the European.

In the year 1823, Mr. Josiah Brewer (afterwards Rev. Dr. Brewer, a Missionary of the American Board of Foreign Missions in Syria) was employed by a society in Bangor to establish a school for Indian children on Oldtown Island. He collected quite a number, and the parents did not object to his teaching them. But as they had never been accustomed to restraint, he found it difficult to hold their attention long enough to teach them anything. They were like rabbits in their movements. They would sit and appear

to be interested for a short space of time, then jump up and run away without regard to teacher or lesson. Some did learn to read and write, however. After a few months Mr. Brewer abandoned his enterprise. One of his pupils, Joseph Polis, is living and a householder upon Oldtown Island. Visitors generally make his acquaintance.

When Dr. Ballard was State Superintendent of Schools, he visited Oldtown Island and found there a substantial frame school-house, and in it a school of from fifteen to twenty Indian boys and girls of all ages from five to sixteen, under the charge of a young lady teacher from one of the neighboring towns. The scholars were as orderly and studious as those of many of our common schools, and were a vast improvement over those of Mr. Brewer near fifty years before—their grandparents and parents, perhaps.

George F. Dillingham, Esq., the present efficient agent of the Tribe, says that they have a trust fund of \$73,828.48, of which they have the benefit of the interest annually; that the appropriations by the last Legislature for the tribe were

The interest from this fund.....	\$4,429.70
The annuity (under the old treaty with Massachusetts assumed by Maine).....	1,800.00
Bounty on crops.....	400.00
Salary of the Agent.....	300.00
Salary of the Superintendents of farming at Oldtown, Greenbush and Lincoln.....	150.00

that they are in the annual receipt of shore-rents, which are collected and disbursed by the State to them in February; that last February there were paid to them, under the Act of 1873, rents amounting to \$5,756.85. This act provides that the rents be disbursed to the tribe for the support of schools, for the salaries of governor, lieutenant governor and priest, and that the remainder be distributed among the members of the tribe *per capita*.

The school at Oldtown received from these rents last year \$200; that at Mattanawcook Island (Lincoln) \$120; that at Olamon Island (Greenbush) \$80. To the priest was paid \$100; to the governor \$50; to the lieutenant governor \$30; to members of the tribe \$4,631.00. Left of the fund \$545.85.

The agent thinks that all but a few members of the tribe use their money profitably, and that the effect of this law has tended to check their roving propensities.

There is some use of intoxicating drinks by some of the tribe, especially at their annual elections in November. The different parties then imitate, to some extent, their white neighbors.

Their present governor is Sabattis J. Mitchell, lieutenant governor, John Neptune; delegate to Legislature, Mitchell Paul Susep.—J. E. G.

ARTICLE VI.

GARRISON HOUSES,

YORK COUNTY.

BY HON. EDWARD EMERSON BOURNE,

OF KENNEBUNK.

GARRISON HOUSES, YORK COUNTY.

I HAVE been induced to prepare a brief description of the garrison houses which were devised and built by our ancestors, in the times of the Indian wars, for their protection, from a conviction that some memorial of them should be preserved, with such specific description as would give to readers of subsequent generations some idea of their construction, and of their adaptation to the purposes for which they were built. That they were generally of very essential service in the perilous days of the Province, no reader of history can doubt. It may with confidence be asserted, that without them all the original settlers would have been driven from the territory. Massachusetts could not have furnished force enough to shield them from the ravages on life and property which would have desolated the territory from the St. Croix to the Piscataqua.

It is with difficulty that I can persuade myself that I have been acquainted with a man who was born in 1737, more than twenty years before the Indian wars had closed. But such is the fact however hard of realization. He lived till he was nearly one hundred years old. The last I saw of him he was crossing his field, buffeting a stiff north-wester, and hallooing, "Hard lee, foresheet and foretop "bowline; main topsail halyards, let go." This man's memory was as perfect in his last days as is that of any

man of middle age. And if it was in my power to recall any one from the shades, I know of no one whose claims upon me for such a resurrection, on account of the local historic aid which he could afford, would be so strong as his. Tradition through him was of as much value as any written document.

This man was in and out of these garrisons every day of his boyhood; and no question could have been propounded to him in relation to their construction, architecture, and adaptation for the purposes of their erection, which he could not readily answer. I have only to lament that I had not been sufficiently interested in the early history of Maine, to take from the record on his brain much more than I did of the valuable matter which was there so deeply inscribed. Very much of the knowledge which I have of local history came from him. Many of the records which survive were so generally the product of ignorant men, and thence so carelessly kept, that their full intended purport can scarcely be drawn from them. Records have but one voice; and they are deaf to all our anxious enquiries for further explanation. But the sound memory of the living man can frequently respond to all our appeals for knowledge of the matter in consideration. These incidental remarks are only made as suggestive of the duty which is upon us all as members of the Historical Society.

Some of these ancient garrison houses still survive the wreck of time, though most of them have been so modified to meet the fashions of the day, that no stranger can recognize them. Here and there is one on which the hand of modern improvement has not been laid. In my early days they were to be found all along the sea-board, and would, at once, be distinguished from other dwellings. In the upper part of York, called Scotland, there are two near together yet in their normal condition, excepting so far as that condition has been changed by the havoc of the years which have passed since their erection. They are poor

specimens of the garrison house. One of them is occupied by the richest man in York. The other has for many years been tenantless, and is rapidly tending to the fate of all things material. But still they are monuments of the struggles to which our fathers were called for the preservation of life and property in the early days of the Province. A pilgrimage to them would well repay an hour spent in their examination.

There was a great variety in the construction of these houses of defense. Some were converted from the ordinary dwelling houses into garrisons. Others were built for the special purpose of security; and nearly all by individuals. The Government of Massachusetts seems not to have been over-anxious for the safety of Maine. Money may have been spent by that Government at the East to furnish a refuge for the people in the terrible trials to which they were exposed. But so far as regarded shelter from the storms of Indian vengeance, which so often came over them, it seems to me that the position assumed by that Province was, that every man must take care of himself. Instead of providing protection, they took for their own purposes those which the settlers had provided for themselves. Sure I am that the town of Wells, which was said in those days to be the frontier of the frontiers, had little pecuniary aid for that purpose. While all the rest of the Province east was laid waste, and its inhabitants driven from it, that town withstood all the assaults of the savage foe; and this defense was maintained only by garrisons, the private property of the inhabitants.

As early as 1690 there were seven garrison houses in Wells; enough to accommodate all the inhabitants. There were several in York, Arundel, Saco, and, I suppose, as many in proportion to population in Falmouth, Scarborough, and the villages east. I can only describe two or three, to which any special knowledge which I have of these structures is limited. In Cape Neddock, which suffered so severely, there

were two, which were built by one Clark, an Englishman, sometime in the last century. Sites were selected, as I suppose may be said of all in the Province, where the sentinels could have an unobstructed view of many rods in every direction. One of these stood at the eastern end of the lower bridge over the Cape Neddlock river. It was about forty feet long and twenty-two wide; to this, as the main body, was built out on the western end a kitchen. It was constructed entirely of timber, or as we might at the present time say, of deals. These were sawed about twenty inches wide and about five inches thick, or sufficiently so to be impenetrable to bullets, muskets being then the only guns of which the Indians could avail themselves. They were sawn out as thin as they could be with safety, for convenience in raising them to their positions. These were placed on their edges, and were all dovetailed at the corners, so that they could not be started from their places. It was thus built without any frame; these deals thus laid one above the other constituting the entire walls of the house. The door posts were of stout white oak, and so grooved to receive the door, that nothing could penetrate from the outside. The doors were made of thick heavy wood. The house was of two stories, the upper projecting on each side and end twenty inches beyond the lower so that the second story was over forty-three feet long and twenty-five feet wide. At each corner of the second story were built out what was termed sentry boxes, sustained by three braces from the walls of the main building. These projected about six feet and were made sufficiently large to accommodate six men. Thus secured from danger from without, the watchmen were adequate to defend against any attacks which were likely to be made upon it, the Indians generally accomplishing their dire work by small companies issuing from their ambush in the neighboring forests. Small openings were made in the walls from which they could discharge their

guns in any needed direction. The projection of the second story over the first was for two special purposes; to turn down hot water on any assailants, and to extinguish fire if they should attempt to burn the garrison. I do not remember any instance from books or tradition in which the former mode of defense was resorted to.

On the lower floor of the house were three rooms besides the kitchen; and on the upper four sleeping rooms. As all these garrison houses were built by individuals, as to the inner arrangements they were made according to the various tastes of their owners. This house was well plastered and finished.

The other garrison lower down and on the opposite side of the river was constructed in about the same style, one man erecting both. This was the common style of the simple garrison house all over the Province. Cape Neddock suffered very severely from the incursions of the Indians. During the wars all the people of this neighborhood resorted to these garrisons. Those within were never harmed by assaults from without; and I think none of the garrisons in the western part of the state were destroyed by the enemy. Many frightful scenes were witnessed from within the walls; old Mr. Weare, the ancestor of the respectable families of that name in York, was returning from meeting on horseback, with his daughter, when both of them were shot. The daughter had a valuable ring on her finger, and instead of slipping it off, the savages cut off the finger and carried it away with them. An incident, not mentioned in history, showing the fascination of the life of these remorseless savages, may well be added. Two boys, in an imprudent moment, were out from the garison; they were captured and carried to Canada. One of them afterwards returned; but civilization had lost its charms, and though every possible motive was addressed to his mind to deter him, he chose to go back to savage life.

There had been another garrison near the sea, which was protected only by a high wall of earth. But this mode of security was not followed any where else. These have all been razed to the ground within the present century.

But the garrison best known in history, and memorable for its successful resistance of all attacks upon it, was the Storer garrison in Wells. In its construction it differed materially from those before described. It was situated a little to the eastward of the old Church on the lower side of the main road. It was built by Joseph Storer just before, or at the beginning of King William's or the ten years war, and was the house of defense for the people of Wells, and refugees from the east for three quarters of a century. It was a large structure though not so large as many of our modern dwelling houses. I am not sure that in its general exterior it differed much from many houses of the present age. I do not know whether the second story projected beyond the lower; I think it did not. But it had four turrets, one at each corner of the house, built as watch-towers. From these the vision was unobstructed on all sides; the marshes and the sea lying before it on the south and east, and cleared land on the north and west. The protection was secured by a pallisade. This was constructed of large sticks of timber, from ten to fifteen feet long, sharpened at one end and driven into the ground in contiguity, so that the inner house was protected from the musquet ball. This pallisade was built about ten feet from the house. Outside of this Storer built several small houses for the relief of those who were reduced to such accommodations, as a last extremity. These were occupied by families in the day time. But at night all sought safety in the garrison. Three times all the garrisons east of this in Maine were forsaken, and many from all parts of the Province, and nearly all the inhabitants of Wells rushed to this house for refuge. At times several

hundreds must have been within its walls; but how they were accommodated, or what order was maintained, neither history nor tradition gives us any account.

The history of life in and about this garrison, if it could be had, would be a work of intense interest. But no thoughtful hand was there to make record of the heart-rending scenes which must have been daily witnessed; or of those other occasions when, amidst the confusion which must have been inevitable, the natural impulses of many in the crowd must have burst forth in mirthfulness, or found vent in the expression of some witty or fanciful idea, whose power even the most sad and affected could scarcely resist. By some incautious act, or mishap, Storer's own daughter, Mary, was seized and carried into captivity. From hence was taken Rev. George Burroughs, the victim of the terrible delusion of witchcraft which prevailed in Massachusetts in 1692. Thank God, we have no evidence that Maine responded to the frightful murders which had their origin in this iniquitous fanaticism. If all which has been said of George Popham and his noble comrades had any foundation in true history, the shame of the reproach would be but slight in the contrast with that, which will forever adhere to Massachusetts from this memorable delusion. Burroughs was here then laboring for the protection of a distressed people, and entreating help from the government of that Colony.

But here were fought the great battles of "the ten years war," the last of which will be worthy of commemoration to the end of time. What would have been the result of savage success can be known only to that Omniscience, to whose vision there is no limit in matter, space or time. But in any view which we can take of the then posture of the affairs of Maine, every inhabitant and every vestige of civilization would have been swept from it. It is well known that a savage attack was made on this garrison by Moxus with his two hundred Indians

in 1691, and being then defeated, he notified Captain Convers that he would return next year and then have him out of his den. Of course every preparation was made by the French, for they were the instigators of all these wars, to accomplish their object in their next attack. Agreeably to the assurance given to the commander, in just one year from that time five hundred Indians and French, under the French general Laboree, appeared before the garrison. They came upon it under the inspirations of assured success, and had it not been for the intervention of an over-ruling Providence, whose precise action in the contest we cannot fully comprehend, the garrison and all its inmates, men, women and children, must have fallen a prey to savage vengeance. What were eight soldiers and eight untrained men to these five hundred before them in the full confidence of victory! But so it was, the brave Convers with not less courage and resolution than Leonidas in his memorable struggle, fought this great army three days, cutting down one after another of the invaders, and the commander himself, until, cowed and disheartened, they were compelled to abandon the siege and flee to the forests. The details of this conflict, and of the battle with the two small vessels are well known by historic readers, and do not properly come within the purview of this article.

A third style of garrison was that of Sergeant Stephen Larrabee in Kennebunk, then a part of Wells. It covered an acre of ground. This was built about 1720, or about the time of Lovewell's war. It was located on the Mousan River. Timber was then very abundant and close at hand. He raised the walls of large lumber about fourteen feet high, using in their construction about 13,000 cubic feet. The enclosure was in the form of a parallelogram. The structure fronted down the river, or southeasterly. On the four corners were four flankers, so projecting that the watchmen within might have a view of any operations

without, on one side and one end. These were built in an angular form, with a porthole in the angle not large enough for a man to enter through it. On the front side was also a large flanker, in the style of a portico, though built six feet from the ground, so that one could pass directly under it. There were three gates, one at each end and one on the side of the front flanker. Within this garrison were built five houses; that of Sergeant Larrabee was in the center. It was a very large house, and of one story only. Two were built by private families, and the other two for the accommodation of soldiers who were stationed there under his command, and for those who fled from the neighborhood in times of alarm, or when it was known that the Indians were abroad in their terrible work. These houses were all of one story having, as they were called in those days, block windows; that is, merely square holes to let in the air and light, which might be blocked up in a moment to protect the inmates from outward danger. Most of the houses at this period were lighted with similar windows. They were about a foot square; some had thick substantial shutters, others were provided only with blocks. This was the largest building which has ever stood within the limits of Kennebunk. Of its splendors or magnificence we can say nothing. It was not built for show but for protection. Sometimes more than two hundred persons were living in it.

In regard to the regime of these garrison houses many enquiries cannot be answered. But one question frequently presents itself to my mind. How were they shielded from attack in the night time? The protection for which they were designed required free view in all directions; but this could not then be had. It would have been perfectly easy in the intense darkness, which sometimes prevailed, to set them on fire by the aid of the firelock and some readily igniting substance; or a breach could have been made in almost any part of the walls. I have never seen any

statement that light was sent out from the garrison upon the adjacent land, neither does tradition furnish us with any such fact. A single Yankee of the present age could have blown any of them up without any extraordinary artifice. That of Larrabee I know was not lighted up. Once or twice the savages attempted some aggression upon it in the darkness. Larrabee was one of the most vigilant and careful men. Nothing in and about the garrison necessary for its safety, escaped his attention. No one but himself was to shut the gates at night, or open them in the morning. He knew every object in the curtilage, or surrounding grounds, and thence in the night he could at once perceive any change in any of these objects. In the darkness of one stormy night in taking his survey from the flankers, he assured the watchmen that there was something under the cart standing near the garrison which was not there in the day time. He seized his gun and fired. In the morning blood was traced all the way from the cart to the forest; and after the war was over, Wawa, the Sachem, whose summer home was about a mile from him, told Larrabee that he and his scout who were then under the cart received a very effectual admonition of the danger of a nightly ambush near the garrison. I recite this fact simply to show that no light radiated in the night over the outskirts of the garrison. It is to me passing strange that the great army of Portneuf and Laboeree did not take advantage of the darkness to destroy that of Storer; and it is not less strange, when there were three or four others near by which could have been so easily destroyed, that no attack was made on any of them.

I am reminded by this brief recurrence to the works of our ancestors, of an inexcusable defect in our histories. The period of the Indian wars was surely the time which tried men's souls, and wonderful developments of character were then made—such as demand of posterity the recognition of a great and magnanimous spirit, and the awarding

all the honor which true nobility has the right to claim from every good citizen. We honor the memory of George Peabody for his benevolence, and it is well that we do so. We are thus educating humanity in the duty of Christian philanthropy. But George Peabody, with all his liberality, had his millions of dollars remaining. But what honor has ever been rendered to those noble men of our early days, who devoted nearly all which they had to the preservation of the lives of the distressed settlers, who were then fleeing to them from all parts of the Province to escape the terrible cruelties of savage animosity? Our history speaks of Storer's garrison; of the Councils which were holden there; of treaties there made; the soldiers stationed there; battles fought—and of the hundreds of weary and distressed men, women and children who there found a place of refuge. But of the true nobility of soul, the sincere, earnest, and unflinching patriotism, the sacrifice of self and property for others weal, as manifested by the originator and builder of this asylum for distressed humanity, no utterance beams out of its pages. I speak not without book in relation to this matter. Joseph Storer with his little property, conceived and carried out, at his own expense, the noble project of building this garrison. Ten years after his death, his sons who were then living here, say that their father, Joseph Storer, a great number of years from 1680 was at great and extraordinary charge in building and repairing these fortifications around his dwelling house, not for himself, but for the forces sent into the eastern parts during war and in troublesome times; that his house was always open to the service of the Province, and that great numbers of distressed refugees here found safety—and that he built also several small houses about the garrison for the use of some who could not find accommodation within. Yet for all this expenditure the Government gave him no remuneration; and of all his watchful anxiety for the public weal, his magnanimity

of soul, and all absorbing patriotism which impelled him to these great sacrifices for the houseless and distressed, history has taken no note.

The object of all history should be the progress of civilization, which can only keep pace with a sound morality and Christian patriotism. And these are to be taught effectually, not by precept alone, but by the teachings suggested by the examples of preceding ages. Good men of all time must be honored—their memory cherished, their lives imitated, if we would be faithful to our trust.

ARTICLE VII.

“JOURNAL OF THE ATTACK OF THE REBELS
ON
HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS AND TROOPS,
UNDER COMMAND OF
BRIG. GEN. McLEAN AND CAPT. HENRY MOWATT,
COMMENCING
24th July, 1779, at Majebiguiduce in Penobscot Bay.”

FROM THE NOVA SCOTIA GAZETTE, HALIFAX, SEPT. 14, 1779.

COMMUNICATED BY

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, ESQ.,

OF BELFAST.

JOURNAL OF THE ATTACK.

Saturday, 24 July.—Saw a large fleet of Ships, Brigantines, Sloops and Schooners, at 5 P. M., in the entrance of the bay, at which time an alarm gun was fired from His Majesty's Sloop Albany, commanded by Captain Mowatt.

Sunday, 25.—Saw the fleet steering up the bay, and at half an hour past 3 in the afternoon five ships of the enemy's fleet stood athwart the entrance of the harbor, and began a cannonade on our ships and batteries which they returned very warmly, and with great spirit. During this time their land forces attempted to land under cover of the rest of their ships, but were repulsed by the piquet.

Monday, 26.—At daybreak the rebels attempted to make good their landing on the bluff point of the peninsular, but were a second time repulsed. At half an hour past 2 in the afternoon nine of their ships followed in a line across the harbor, and began a cannonade which continued while the tide was in their favor, and was returned without intermission from our ships and batteries. At 6 o'clock two of their largest brigantines and a sloop entered by a narrow channel to the southward of the island, at the entrance of the harbor, which navigation favored their forcing a landing on said island under a smart fire from these vessels. Two three pounders from the transport with the seamen, had been placed here to annoy the enemies attempt to force the harbor, but being overpowered

by numbers they were obliged to retreat. At this time the transports were ordered to remove higher up, and in the course of the night Capt. Mowatt, finding the enemy busy in raising works opposite on the island, moved the King's ships to their second station, where they formed a line as before.

Tuesday, 27.—We were pretty quiet all this day, and had a few shots only fired at our small battery, which were returned. All this day the enemy was busy erecting a battery on the island at the south of the harbor, and making feints to land, but returned on board again.

Wednesday, 28.—At dawn of day the army landed in force on the bluff head, under a heavy cannonade of round and grape shot, but lost a great number of men; the loss on our side was inconsiderable. Upon this the General ordered the troops on Butler's battery into the fort, lest their retreat should be cut off. Nothing particular during the remainder of the day.

Thursday, 29.—The enemy opened their battery on the above island, consisting of two eighteen and one twelve pounder, which played the whole day, chiefly on the shipping, but sometimes on the fort. The shipping having received some damage removed to their third and last station, which was so fortunately chosen from Capt. Mowatt's exact knowledge of the harbor, that the communications should be kept open with the fort, the dispositions ashore and afloat coöperating with and perfectly supporting one another.

Friday, 30.—In the afternoon of this day the rebels opened a battery upon the fort within point blank shot, of two twelve, and one eighteen pounders. They played very sharply, but had it as warmly returned, however, but little damage was done to the works. The roof of the store received several shot, two men wounded, one of whom died soon after. This night the enemy threw some shells from

a 5½ inch mortar, which did no damage, and we in return threw several shells into their encampment from our royals.

Saturday, 31.—A constant cannonade between the fort and rebel batteries.

Sunday, August 1.—About 2 o'clock in the morning the enemy attacked the lower battery, where the marines were posted, and, by a superiority of numbers, were obliged to give ground before the piquet could support them; for this purpose fifty men were sent out, who soon drove the enemy back, tho' allowed to be in number above three hundred.

N. B. In the above last mentioned attack the loss of the rebels was considerable, and ours very trifling indeed; some of our men taken prisoners, and thirteen of the enemy taken by us; their intention, it appears, was to storm the fort.

Monday, 2d.—The cannonade between the enemy's battery and our fort continued, and some popping with small arms between their sentinels and ours, some of whom were killed in trees; this day lost three men by the enemy's cannon shot.

Tuesday, 3d.—The rebels busy in erecting another battery to the northward of our shipping. The cannonade against the fort continued as before, but with no loss on our side. At night all the garrison constantly under arms on the banquettes, expecting to be stormed by the enemy.

Wednesday, 4.—The cannonade from the fort and rebel battery continued as before. This day lost one man. During the day they threw several shells into the fort without the least hurt to us.

Thursday, 5.—The enemy opened their new battery to the northwest of the shipping, but did no damage farther than wounding one man. The island battery and the one near the fort kept constantly playing this day, which was duly returned from the fort. Some brisk firing of small arms from our piquet. One killed and two wounded on our side. An Indian and some rebels killed on theirs.

Friday, 6th.—The cannonade between the fort and rebel battery continued as usual. One man killed on our side.

Saturday, 7.—This morning Corporal M'Phiel was killed by a cannon shot in the store. In the afternoon there was a skirmish between a party of ours and from two to three hundred of the enemy, who were drove into the woods with considerable loss; in this skirmish Lieut. McNeil of the 82d, and one private were wounded. About the same time some of the enemy were from the shipping observed crossing with a boat, as if with an intention to erect a battery on a point near our shipping, upon which Captain Mowatt, with his usual vigor and vigilance, sent armed boats in which there were fifty men, from the garrison, to intercept them, but the boats only were taken, those that were in them having fled into the woods.

Sunday, 8.—This day rained hard during the fore part. Cannonading the latter, which did no damage to us.

Monday, 9.—Cannonading as usual, lost one man by a cannon shot.

Tuesday, 10.—The rebels opened another battery upon the fort; cannonading as usual, but no loss sustained.

Wednesday, 11.—Cannonading as usual; one man killed, and one wounded on piquet by small arms. A deserter informs they mean to come in with their shipping to attack us.

Thursday, 12.—And thereafter nothing remarkable happened until our fleet came in, when great as the trouble was they had given us, with what pleasure we feasted our eyes beholding them last Saturday in still greater, scampering away up a narrow river to the tune of about forty sail, all which except two of their ships of war, viz., the Hunter and Putnam, were burnt to the water's edge by themselves.

ARTICLE VIII.

P E M A Q U I D

IN ITS RELATIONS TO

O U R C O L O N I A L H I S T O R Y :

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT FORT POPHAM, KENNEBEC RIVER.
AUGUST, 1874, AT THE 267TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LAND-
ING MADE AT THAT SPOT BY THE POPHAM COLONY.

BY FRANKLIN B. HOUGH, M. D.,

OF LOWVILLE, N. Y.

PEMAQUID AND OUR COLONIAL HISTORY.

THE returning anniversary of an event you have chosen to commemorate, as one of signal interest in the history of New England, brings us together upon a spot, where, two hundred and sixty-seven years ago, the first attempt was made, under title, to establish right by possession, within the region between the fortieth, and five and fortieth degrees of latitude of the North American coast, then newly granted, and vaguely known as the estate of the Second or North Virginia Colony.*

* This charter was granted April 10, (O. S.) 1606, in the 4th year of James I. It has been often printed, and may be found, with the instructions issued to those who were to act under it, in Hening's Statutes at Large of Virginia, i., 57, 75. Among the grantees are the names of Sir Francis Popham, Knight, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, both subsequently especially interested in the pioneer attempts at colonization on the coast of Maine. An Ordinance and Constitution enlarging the number of the Council of the two several colonies and plantations in Virginia, and more fully defining their powers and privileges, was issued March 9, 1607, and may be found, with its various readings, in the work above cited, p. 76, 79. It adds the names of Sir Edward Hungerford, Knight, Sir John Mallet, Knight, Sir John Gilbert, Knight, Sir Thomas Freake, (or Freule) Knight, Sir Richard Hawkings, Knight, Sir Bartholomew Mitchel, Knight, Edward Seamour, Esq., Bernard Greenville, Esq., Edward Rogers, Esq., and Matthew Sutcliffe, Doctor of Divinity, on behalf of the second colony. The first colony were allowed to plant between the 34th and 41st, and the second colony between the

Without venturing to conjecture what may have been earlier learned and forgotten of Scandinavian discovery, we may remark that something of this coast had been known since the voyage of the Cabots more than a hundred years before, and probably more than it was for their interest to publish, by the maritime adventurers, who had for many years been accustomed to fish in these waters, and barter with the native tribes.* After the ample discussion that has been had concerning the character of the colonists of Sabino, who came in 1607, I could scarcely hope to bring new facts out of oblivion to throw light upon the subject. It is of more consequence to know *what*, than *who* they were, and except so far as might effect their intelligence, their capacity for endurance, and their disposition to obey orders, the question does not appear to me of vital importance. They evidently came with the honest design of founding a permanent colony. They were strangers to the country, its climate and its resources; were called upon to endure unaccustomed hardships, to which

38th and 45th degrees of north latitude. The overlapping belt from the 38th to the 41st degrees was open to whichever colony should first occupy, but not within one hundred miles of any other English colony. A second charter for the first colony was granted May 23, 1609, embracing a grant of the country two hundred miles north, and the same distance south of Point Comfort, and westward to the South Seas.—[Hening, i., 80, 98.

* Various evidences are stated by Mr. Biddle in his Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, tending to show that an acquaintance with the American coast was kept up long afterwards, and before the realization of any known plans for actual colonization. This author even ventures the question: "Can it have been that Sebastian Cabot, "meanwhile, was attempting to colonize the new region? The mission of the Priest would seem to countenance the idea of a "settlement; and we might thus account for the long disappearance "of our navigator, as well as for the language of Thetvet." The authorities examined and cited in Mr. Biddle's Memoir, will aid a more careful study of this almost forgotten century of our history.

they proved themselves unequal, and after spending a few months, and losing their leader, they returned home. The quality of endurance under privation is not always a guarantee of success, and we have examples of victory under hardships more severe than those we have reason to suppose fell to the lot of the pioneers of the Sagadahoc. So far as appears from records, the party consisted of men only. The pilgrims of Plymouth, whose death-roll of the first winter showed sufferings much more extreme, were families of men, women and children. Yet their courage failed not with their decreasing numbers, and I will venture to suggest, whether the resolute heart and steady faith of woman, though she be frailer in strength, may not on such occasions impart that courage, and will of endurance to the husband and the brother, which may enable them to triumph in the hour of greatest hardship. The annals of frontier settlement since the beginning of our history abound with instances of heroism thus inspired, whether in depths of forests half buried with snows, in the lone prairie home, or separated from the world by pathless wastes. Conceding the interest and importance attached to the historical ground on which we stand, the incidents of which have been so ably discussed within the last dozen years, I am led to consider another theme of pioneer enterprise of this region which is closely identified with the history of New England, and in which the citizen of New York, as well as of Maine and of Massachusetts, may claim a share of interest due to former possession, and as such, forming a link in the chain of history of each of these states, of common interest with them all.

We attach value to the enterprise of 1607, because we find therein a design of permanence, the germ of a community that was to have been governed by laws, the beginning of civilization in a region then scarcely known beyond the outline of its coast, and peopled only by savages. But these very colonists visited in their coming, and

some may have tarried in returning at a place not many miles to the eastward, around which cluster associations of still greater historical interest than this transient seat of colonial enterprise.

We may seek in vain the details of the first landing—the first interviews with native tribes—the first success in fishing and in trade, which from a beginning so obscure as scarce to leave a trace in history, gradually expanded into a business worthy of the enterprise of the age, and made Pemaquid “the Metropolitan of these parts, because it “ever have been so before Boston was settled.”*

The able researches of several who have given especial attention to these antiquities, and incidentally the labors of others, have rendered the name of Pemaquid familiar to the historical student, and have supplied the most that may ever be known in connection with its early annals.†

A headland between the Damriscotta and the Medomack rivers, within plain sight of Monhegan island, the most conspicuous landmark on the coast, and itself one of the most prominent places on the main land, these places would be as likely to attract the attention of the first navigators, as their lighted beacons to now catch the eye of the passing voyager. Some three miles from the point,

* Petition of the inhabitants of New Harbor to the Governor and Council of New York; without date, but found among the papers of 1692 in the records of the Secretary of State at Albany. It is signed by William Sturt, town clerk of Pemaquid, and is doubtless of earlier date than that of the transfer of the region east of the Kennebec, from the government of New York to that of Massachusetts.—[Maine Hist. Coll., v., 137.

The original is bound in the Colonial Records of the office of the Secretary of State, at Albany, N. Y.; manuscripts, vol. xxxviii., p. 200.

† Maine Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. v.; Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration, Aug. 29, 1862; History of Bristol and Bremen in the State of Maine, including the Pemaquid settlement, by John Johnston; Ancient Dominions of Maine, by Rufus King Sewall, etc.

on the east side, is the small cove known from the earliest times as New Harbor, and on the west side, between three and four miles from the point is Pemaquid Harbor, protected from the open sea by dykes of basalt as a natural sea wall, and forming a haven as cozy as that which received the scattered fleet of Æneas on the Lybian coasts.

On the east side of the entrance of the harbor, and nearly opposite the trap rocks we have mentioned, are the remains of an ancient fort, the fourth of its kind that has sheltered the settlers of this point. In the neighborhood are traces of many dwellings along streets once paved, the marts of trade and busy thoroughfare of a hardy and adventurous race, who in the pursuit of present gain, heeded little of future fame, and of whom, had it depended on themselves for record, we might now have known little beyond these silent but not quite forgotten traces of former life and enterprise.

We are scarcely informed of details, but know the general fact, that from the time when Cabot made his first voyage in a Bristol ship, with Bristol seamen, in 1497, down through the century which followed, the enterprise of Bristol merchants was more or less directed towards the American fisheries.* When Gosnold visited this coast in 1602, he saw natives with English apparel, and to whom a ship was not an object of wonder.† In 1603 Martin Pring

* See authorities cited in Biddle's Memoir of Sebastian Cabot; Drake's Hist. of Boston, etc.

† Purchas's Pilgrimes, (1625), part 4, pp. 1646-1651.

It is uncertain as to what part of the New England coast is here alluded to, but it could scarcely have been other than Maine. The language of Purchas is as follows :

“The fourteenth, about six in the morning we descried land that lay north, &c., the northerly part we called the North Land, which to another rock upon the same lying twelve leagues west, that wee called *Savage Rocke*, because the savages first shewed themselves there; five leagues towards the said rocke is an out point of

mentions the good anchorage and superior fishing grounds of these waters.* In 1605, Captain Weymouth† took from Pemaquid five natives of the country, who coming to the notice of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, first inspired in him that interest in America which afterwards became a leading subject of his ambition, and the earnest effort of his life.‡

In 1607, when Captain Gilbert's vessel with Sir John Popham's colonists dropped anchor near Pemaquid, a party of Indians in a Spanish shallop came to his vessel in a familiar way,§ and from this time forward we find frequent mention of Pemaquid as a place frequented and inhabited by Englishmen, the seat of a lucrative Indian trade, known to all the fishermen on the coast, and gradually rising into importance as a commercial point. The adjacent fields

“woodie ground, the trees thereof very high and straight from the
 “rocks east northeast. From the said rocke came towards us a
 “Biscay shallop with saile and oares, having eight persons in it,
 “whom we supposed at first to bee Christians distressed. But
 “approaching us neere, wee perceived them to bee savages. These
 “comming within call hayled us, and wee answered. Then after
 “signes of peace, and a long speech by one of them made, they
 “came boldly aboard us being all naked, saving about their shoul-
 “ders certaine loose deere skinnies, and near their wastes seale
 “skinnies tyed fast like to Irish Himmie trousers. One that seemed
 “to be their commander wore a wastecoate of black worke, a pair
 “of breeches, cloth stockings, shooes, hat and band; one or two
 “more had also a few things made by some Christians. These with
 “a peece of chalke described the coast thereabouts, and could name
 “Placentia of the New-Found-Land. They spake divers Christian
 “words, and seemed to understand much more than we, for want of
 “language, could comprehend.”

* Purchas's Pilgrimes, (1625,) part 4, pp. 1654-1656.

† Purchas's Pilgrimes, (1625,) part 4, pp. 1659-1667; Memorial Volume, Popham Celebration, pp. 301-317; McKen's Remarks on the Voyage of George Weymouth, Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., v., pp. 307-341; Prince's Voyage of Weymouth, ib. vi., pp. 291-318.

‡ Gorges' Briefe Narration, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., ii., Chap. 2, 3.

§ Strachey's Account, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., iii., Art. iv.

show traces of cultivation from an early period, and the remains of an ancient canal at the falls some little distance northward from the fort, suggest the probability that mills were erected by these pioneer settlers.*

In 1625, John Brown, a gentleman of Bristol, England, acquired an Indian title to Pemaquid neck, which, after strenuous attempts to establish claims by his heirs and assigns, was set aside as worthless in modern times.† In February, 1631, a patent was obtained by Robert Aldsworth and Gyles Elbridge, also of Bristol, through the Council of Plymouth, including some twelve thousand acres, with nearly the same limits as the Indian grant.‡ This contained no rights of government, and therefore will be no further traced as it has been most fully described by others. In 1614, Captain John Smith, who had been governor of Virginia, spent a part of the season on this coast, and accurately describes Monhegan island and the shores opposite, and from the glowing accounts of this voyage which he gave on his return, Prince Charles declared that this region should bear the name of New England.§

In 1630, the first fort was built at Pemaquid, which was probably nothing but an earth-work, and in ruins at the beginning of New York occupation. It might be incident-

* Memorial Volume, Popham Celebration, pp. 263-301; Johnston's Bristol and Bremen; Sewall's Ancient Dominions of Maine, etc.

† Thornton's Ancient Pemaquid, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., v., p. 191; Report of Lincoln Co. Commissioners, (appointed by Resolve of June 20, 1811;) Memorial Volume of Popham Celebration, p. 276; Johnston's Bristol and Bremen, p. 52; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., xiii., 365.

‡ Thornton's Ancient Pemaquid, Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., v.; Johnston's Bristol and Bremen.

§ Smith's General Hist. of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, (Sixth Book;) Purchas's Pilgrimes, (1625,) part 4, p. 1838.

ally noticed that the territory of Acadia with very indefinite boundaries, remained in possession of the French, with the consent of England, from the treaty of Breda in 1667, to that of Utrecht in 1713; and that although France claimed the bounds as extending westward to the Kennebec, this claim was never conceded by the English, who insisted upon the theory, that the Pemaquid coast belonged exclusively to the English.

We come down to the period of the restoration in 1660. Since the death of Charles I., in 1649, the royal family had been exiles upon the Continent; and for the most of the time in France, Charles, the elder prince, a youth some nineteen years of age at the time of his father's execution, had in the interval of the Commonwealth passed through all varieties of fortune, and not without perils and penury, but always addressed by those around him wherever known, as the lawful sovereign of England. In fact, the chronology of his subsequent reign does not admit the fact of interruption, and dated the years as beginning with the death of Charles I. In his foreign retreat, in which some of the forms with none of the substance of royalty had been preserved, he had been taught by bitter experience how base and treacherous and ungrateful man may be, however obsequious in outward forms. Without ambition, a slave to sensual indulgence, he detested business, and such was his impatience of toil, and such his ignorance of affairs, that the very clerks who attended him when he sat in council, could not refrain from sneering at his frivolous remarks and childish impatience.* So utterly lost was he to a sense of honor, that some years afterwards he became the pensioner of Louis XIV., of France,† and his character

* Macaulay's *Hist. Eng.*, Chap. ii.

† The Treaty of Dover, concluded early in 1670, stipulated that the French King should give £200,000 a year in quarterly payments, to enable the King to begin in England a project of reducing that

has been concisely summed up by an eminent British statesman of more recent times, as unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, treacherous, vindictive and remorseless, and adds: "I doubt whether a single instance can be produced "of his having spared the life of any one, whom motives, "either of policy or of revenge, prompted him to destroy."*

As to American affairs, he appears to have had little thought, and to have left them to the direction of others, being too indolent to trouble himself with details, and too much absorbed in the trivial follies of the court, to notice events so remote.

James, Duke of York, was three years younger. In 1648, being then fifteen years of age, he had escaped in disguise to Holland, and during Cromwell's term of power he had chiefly resided in France, Spain and Holland, and much of the time as a volunteer in the French and Spanish armies.† All historians agree that he was in every respect far superior to his brother in talent, industry, and application to business.

He returned to England in 1660,‡ being then twenty-seven years of age, and accepting a part of the duties of the government which his indolent brother was quite

country to an acceptance of the Catholic religion. When settled there a combined attempt was to be made by France and England against Holland, and the several Dutch provinces were to be divided among the victors in a manner previously arranged.—[Clarke's James II, i., 433; Carrel's Hist. of the Counter Revolution in England, p. 89.

* Fox's Hist. of the early part of the reign of James II., p. 68.

† In joining the Spanish army in a war against Portugal, James became their High Admiral, under the title of "Principe de la Mare," an office which he was told had never before been given to any but the King's sons, or near relations.—[Clarke's James II., i., p. 381.

‡ The King landed at Dover with his brothers, James, Duke of York, and Henry, Duke of Gloucester, on the 22d, and entered London on the 29th of May, 1660.—[Clarke's James II., i., 382.

willing to get rid of, he became quite influential in public affairs. Released from the parade and ceremony surrounding royalty, he was brought more in contact with the busy world, and at liberty to engage in private enterprises unbecoming the dignity of a king, however worthy of the ambition of a subject. His intimate relations with his brother gave him ready access at all times, and an easy concession of whatever privilege or favor he might be pleased to ask. As through him these favors might be gained by others, he naturally became the object of their courteous attentions, and a man of great weight and influence in business affairs. "It must be remembered," says Clarke,* writing of events in 1663-4, "that ever since "his return into England he made it his business, as being "Lord High Admirall,† to inform himself of the condition "of the Fleet, which, tho' much increased in number of "Ships by the Usurpers, was then by the many changes "and revolutions after the death of Cromwell, but in an ill "condition, the Navall Forces quite exhausted, and the "Magazines very empty; of which he gave a speedy account "to the King, who ordered matters so with the Parliament "that they voted him a sum of £1,200,000 to be disposed "of by him as the necessitys of the State should require.

"Besides the care which the Duke had of the Navy, he "applyd himself to understand the business of Trade, "which is the great interest of England, and gave all "encouragements to the severall trading Companies, as

* *Life of James II.*, by Rev. J. S. Clarke, i., 399.

† "Among the first acts of royalty exercised by Charles the "Second, after taking regular possession of his throne, was that of "declaring his brother Lord High Admiral. The diligence and "indefatigable attention shewn by him to the functions of his "office, were extremely grateful to the people, and convinced them "that their sovereign's choice had been influenced by prudence as "well as by fraternal affection."—[Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, i., p. 1.

“those of the East Indies,* Turkey,† Hambourgh,‡ and
 “Canary,§ and moreover he sett up a new one for Guiny,||
 “which was absolutely necessary for the Support of the
 “Foreign Plantations, and from hindering the Dutch from
 “being absolute masters of the whole Guiny trade.

“And whereas the Dutch, during the Civill Wars in
 “England, had everywhere increashed much upon the
 “English Trade, and had dispossessed the English of the
 “Castle of Cormentin, on the Gold Coast. The Duke at
 “his first setting up the Guiny or Royall Affrican ompany,
 “borrowed two Ships of his Maty, and sent Sir Robert
 “Hohnes with them, and with some other Ships belonging
 “to the Company, and some few land men with which,
 “according to his orders, he seized the fort at Cap de Vert,
 “in Affrica, and took the Castle of Cormentin from the
 “Dutch, leaving garrisons in both of them, and settling
 “Factorys for the Company all allong that coast.

“Some time after this the King gave the Duke a Patent
 “for Long Island in the West Indies, and the Tract of land
 “between New England and Mary Land, which always
 “belonged to the Crown of England since it was first dis-
 “covered; upon which the Dutch had also incroached

* Incorporated by Elizabeth, about the year 1600.

† Incorporated by Elizabeth; enlarged by James I.

‡ Founded in the days of Edward I., in 1293, and chiefly engaged
 in the trade of wool and woollen manufactures.

§ Incorporated in 1664, by Charles II.

|| The Royal African Company was incorporated in the fourteenth
 year of Charles II., (1662) with exclusive privileges of trade from
 Sallee in Southern Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope. It was the
 fourth English trading company that had been founded for the
 Affrican trade, others having been founded in 1588, 1618 and 1631.
 In 1672 another was founded, which was re-modelled in 1695. The
 Slave trade appears to have been a leading object of these compa-
 nies.

“during the Rebellion, and built a Town, and some Forts,
“to secure the Bever Trade to themselves; wherefore the
“Duke borrowed two men of war of the King, in which he
“sent Collonel Richard Nicholas,* (an old Officer and one
“of the Grooms of his Bed-chamber,) with three hundred
“men, to take possession of that Country; which the
“Dutch gave up upon Composition without striking a
“strok, most of the Dutch inhabitants remaining there,
“together with the old English Inhabitants, and some other
“Nations who had first planted there with the English; So
“that Collonel Nicholas* remained in peacable possession
“of that Country, which was then called New York, and
“the fort up the River named Albany. And so the Duke
“did all on his side to advance Trade.

“These proceedings, and the Severall complaints of our
“Marchents of the injurys they received from the Dutch,
“by their depredations of them during the late disturben-
“ces in England, were a sort of preamble and introduction
“to the wars which soon after followed against Holland;†
“for it now grew to be the Sense of the whole Nation, and
“of the House of Commons in particular, that Satisfaction
“ought to be given to our Marchants for the injuries and
“losses they had sustained by the unjust incroachments of
“the Hollanders, which losses were represented to amount
“to seven or eight hundred thousand pounds.”

Thus we see that jealousies of trade were a leading motive in the interference of the English with the Dutch of New Netherland, and that this event was only a part of an extended and systematic plan of reprisals upon a nation the rival of England in naval power and colonial enterprise.

I need not remind the student of English history, of the prominent part then taken in public affairs by the Earl of

* Nicolls.

† War was declared against Holland March 4, 1664-5.

Clarendon, then Lord High Chancellor of England.* He had sprung from the middle, not the higher rank of society, and from a respectable but not illustrious ancestry. Educated as a lawyer, he had raised himself by his talents to

* Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, was the third son of Lawrence Hyde, and his family is traced back to the Norman conquest. He was born February 18, 1608. His father designed him for the Church, but preferring the law, he practised some years with success, was elected to Parliament, and there, laying aside all other business for the service of the State, he came to the notice of Charles I., in 1641, from the zeal which he manifested for the Church, and the royal cause. In 1671, he declined the office of Solicitor General, and the next year we find him entrusted with the King's affairs in parliament. Of his character as a statesman it has been said :

“He was of a cheerful and open nature, without dissimulation, “delivering his opinions on men and things without reserve or “disguise, and so tenacious of his own opinions as never to yield to “any other man when right, although open to admit his errors when “wrong. Had a profound veneration for the English Constitution, “believing it well balanced. A strenuous advocate of the royal “prerogative, but jealous at the least appearance of aggression on “either side, and would never consent to any measures tending to “disturb this due balance of power, upon which, in his opinion, “depended the hopes of the future as to the stability of the State.”

He was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Privy councillor by Charles I., and while in exile at Bruges in Flanders, in 1657, was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England. In 1661, he became Viscount Cornbury, and Earl of Clarendon. This title, first enjoyed by Sir Edward Hyde, was derived from a spacious park near Salisbury, formerly the site of a royal palace, but more remarkable as the place where King Henry II. summoned the great council of peers and prelates, in 1164, from which emanated the celebrated regulations known as the “*Constitutions of Clarendon*,” by which the clergy were made amenable to the civil power.

His lordship attained celebrity, not only as a lawyer and statesman, but as a historian, and by command of Charles II. wrote the “History of the Rebellion,” and other works. Walpole in speaking of him says : “He acted for Liberty, but wrote for the prerogative.” Burnet remarks that he was “a good minister, indefatigable in

a seat in Parliament, and an eminent judicial station under Charles I., whose fortunes he served till the end. Then sharing the exile of the remnant of the royal family, he remained faithful to their interests in foreign lands, and was trusted and counselled in a remarkable degree by the widowed Queen of England and her stricken family in France. No storm was ever yet so fierce as not to be followed by a calm; no night so dark but that the morning would usher in another day. We may well believe, that those who in exile still clung to the fortunes of the Stuart family, and saw in these orphan princes the future kings of a restored monarchy, would often cast their eyes across the Channel with sadness at hope deferred, and watch with listening ears for the first murmurs of discontent. The morning at length came, and England, weary with the

“business, but too magisterial, and not enough acquainted with “foreign affairs.”

There were faults in his manner toward those who thought themselves neglected, and whom he was apt to reject with contumely, and some disparagement of their services, which made him many enemies, and at last hastened his downfall. The great seal was taken from Clarendon in 1667, and a popular torrent of opposition arose against him which he was unable to stand. Being banished, he retired to France, and died at Roon, in Normandy, December 19, 1674.

In his memoirs, speaking of the period when he was highest in favor, and at about the time that he was busy with correspondence on Austrian affairs, it is said:

“The Chancellor was the highest in Place, and thought to be so “in trust, because he was most in private with the king, had managed most of the secret correspondence in England, and all “dispatches of importance had passed through his hands; which “had hitherto been with the less envy, because the indefatigable “pains he took were very visible, and it was visible that he gained “nothing by it.”

His name, more than that of any other British Statesman of his day, will have interest with the student of American history, from the attention which he gave to our Colonial affairs.

changes and uncertainties of the interregnum, willingly returned to their regal form of government, and public affairs to their old channels.

While in France Prince James had formed an attachment for Anna, a daughter of Chancellor Clarendon, which afterwards resulted in a secret marriage. Two daughters by this marriage afterwards became reigning Queens of England: Mary, consort of William, Prince of Orange, and Anne, who succeeded William III. on the throne. The Earl of Clarendon appears to have taken particular interest in American affairs, and as the project of dispossessing the Dutch of New Netherland began to take definite form, he negotiated with Lord Stirling* for certain claims to lands on the New England coasts, which had been acquired as follows:

The patent to the Plymouth Company in 1620, embraced the whole New England coast, as far northward as forty-five degrees north latitude, or about to the mouth of the St. Croix river. The Company after making sundry grants, found many obstacles in the way of colonization, and in June, 1635, surrendered the great patent to the king, with the design of receiving particular patents of such parts along the coast as might be sufficient for their use. This surrender was made June 7, 1635.† But before this was done, to wit: on the twenty-second of April, 1635, the Company by and with the consent, direction and appointment of Charles I., issued letters patent to William, Earl of Stirling, his heirs and assigns, "for a tract of the Maine "land of New England, beginning at St. Croix, and from "thence extending along the sea coast to Pemaquid, and "the river Kennebeck," to which was added the islands of Long Island, and all the islands thereto adjacent.‡

* Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Peerages*, p. 289.

† Hazard's *State Papers*, i., 393.

‡ Hayes' *Vindication of the Rights and Titles of Alexander, Earl of Stirling and Dovan*, Part i., p. 34.

To establish settlements under this title, James Farrett was sent over about 1637, as agent of the Earl of Stirling, and some of the present land titles upon Long Island, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, etc., were traced from this source.

About the year 1663, and while the enterprise against the Dutch was under consideration, the Earl of Clarendon on behalf of his son-in-law, the Duke of York, bought the rights of Stirling above mentioned, agreeing to pay the sum of £3,500, which in 1674 was changed to a pension of £300 per annum, out of the revenues of the New York Colony.*

* Colonial Hist. of New York, iii., 606.

It is well known that James II. left a series of manuscript volumes, containing memoirs of the events of his day, and his correspondence, which were afterwards lodged in the Scotch College at Paris, and are supposed to have been destroyed during the French revolutions of 1789-92.—[Clarke's Life of James II., i., Preface, p. xiv.-xix.; Fox's Hist. of the early part of the Reign of James II., Introduction, p. xxv.

The loss of these manuscripts may have thrown into oblivion facts tending to elucidate some points of our Colonial history, that will now probably forever remain obscure. Among these we may conjecture that the scheme of territorial aggrandizement, implied in the Royal Patent from Charles II. to his brother the Duke of York, confirming and including the purchase from Lord Stirling, may have been prompted by personal ambition, and a desire to establish in the line of his family a vice royalty, or possibly a government more substantial and independent upon the American Continent.

The marriage of Charles II. to the Infanta of Portugal, in 1662, might have reasonably given rise to the expectation of lawful issue to inherit the crown of England, and the Earl of Clarendon whose daughter had married the Duke of York, would as naturally anticipate the contingencies best calculated to advance the interests of her descendents. In the acquirement of colonial territories of vast extent and great wealth of resources, it is quite probable that both the Duke and the Earl may have looked forward to a time when these transatlantic possessions, with ample powers of government,

Let us now briefly notice some other affairs of more local character, which may be presumed to have had relation to the events which followed.

Among those whose influence was most sensibly felt in promoting the English expedition against the Dutch of New Netherland, in 1664, we may justly mention Mr. Samuel Maverick.

He had settled on Noddle's Island,* in Boston Harbor, (now East Boston,) at about the beginning of that colony. He was a man of great hospitality, and as Josselyn, who visited him in July, 1638, says,—“the only hospitable man “in all the country, giving entertainment to all comers “gratis,”† and once at least, to his great disadvantage, being heavily fined for receiving some fugitives. He was a man of substantial means, and aided most liberally in the erection of harbor defenses; in short, as Mr. Drake, the historian of Boston, has well remarked, “A man that “Boston could not do without.”‡ In religious faith he was attached to the Episcopal forms of the English establish church.§ It appears that he was liberal in his religious views, and that he advocated a freedom of thought, and

and vast opportunities for development, might become an object worthy of the highest ambition, and second only to that of royalty itself. This is of course only conjecture, founded upon the circumstances we have noticed. It is well known that Clarendon was instrumental in bringing about the marriage of Charles II., for which he was afterwards blamed.—[Memoirs and Travels of Sir John Reversby, p. 167.

* This island was granted to Maverick, April 1, 1633, he being required to pay yearly, at the General Court, to the Governor, either a fat wether, a fat hog, or eleven shillings in money, and to allow wood to be brought from the south part to Boston and Charlestown. —[Records of Massachusetts, i., p. 104.

† Account of two voyages to New England, London, 1674.

‡ Drake's Hist. of Boston, p. 296.

§ Hutchinson.

liberty of discussion, altogether inconsistent with the strict and narrow exclusiveness of the people among whom he dwelt, insomuch that he in time came to be regarded as the enemy of their government, and the foe of religion.

More especially did he incur the active hostility of those in power, in the spring of 1646, by uniting with Dr. Robert Child, and a few others, in a remonstrance and humble petition to the general court. In this, after some words of pleasant compliment to the government, for its "eminent" "gifts, continual care and constant vigilance, which hath" "procured unto this wilderness Peace and Plenty, while" "their native land was so sharply afflicted with the devouring sword," they called attention to the "poor handfull" "here planted," and to the storm which was hanging over their heads, prepared to burst upon them as a punishment for their sins. They reminded the general court of the "unwonted malignant sicknesses," and other evils that afflicted the country as inferentially caused by the intolerance and disregard of the laws of England in the colony.* The wicked authors of this memorial were severely handled for this freedom of petition, and Maverick among others was heavily fined. But these proceedings had at least this effect, that the civil authorities of this embryo Republic applied to the Elders for their opinions, as to how far the laws of England were binding upon the government of Massachusetts, nor could they consistently reconcile these harsh proceedings with any theory short of that which assigned paramount authority to the laws of their own making. This view although agreeable to their feelings, was, however, a century and more too early for prudent

* This petition at length may be found in New England's Jonas Cast Up, etc. It was signed by Robert Child, Thomas Fowle, Samuel Maverick, Thomas Burton, David Yale, John Smith, and John Dand. See also, Drake's Boston, p. 293; Oliver's Puritan Commonwealth, p. 424; Records of Massachusetts, ii., 162, 175, 196.

avowal, and the advice which the Elders returned, was to the effect that whatever powers or privileges the colony enjoyed were dependent upon their charter,* that instrument so often claimed as a shelter against unpleasant interference by English officials, while it operated as a license for whatever measures they deemed favorable to their rising Commonwealth.

These and other proceedings appear to have alienated Maverick from the Massachusetts government, if indeed he ever had any affection for it. At a later period, we learn from his correspondence that he spent a year in Virginia, and from the acquaintance which he evinced in the location and affairs of the Dutch of New Netherland, and the Delaware, he may doubtless have visited these settlements.

Soon after the restoration of the Monarchy, Maverick opened a correspondence with the Earl of Clarendon,† then Lord High Chancellor of England, fully in the confidence of the king, and a man of great weight in the government. His intimate relation with the Duke of York has been already noticed, and the enterprising and business-like habits of that prince, must have led him to a knowledge of this correspondence which promised a favorable chance for extending his acquaintance with the Colonies. The prior claims of the English by right of early discovery, the vast resources of trade by means of navigable rivers extending far into the Indian country, the fertility of the soil, and scanty means of defense were strongly represented, and the means necessary for the conquest of the country were so exactly stated, that we may

* Drake's Boston, p. 295.

† A series of documents entitled "The Clarendon Papers," published in the collections of the New York Historical Society for 1869, contains many letters from Maverick to the Earl of Clarendon, from which many principal statements of the text concerning him are derived. Other papers bearing upon the subject are contained in the Colonial Hist. of New York.

readily believe the expedition of 1664, which reduced New Netherland and its dependencies to be a direct result of these urgent appeals, supported and justified by the inquiries that may have been made concerning their foundation.

Nor did the misrule of Massachusetts, as Maverick regarded it, pass without the most direct specification, accompanied by explicit advice as to the means by which their wayward conduct could be cured, and the royal authority firmly established. He mentions the hospitable reception of Whalley and Goffe, the regicides, the strictly exclusive limitations of the elective franchise, by which, according to his estimate, three-fourths of the inhabitants were disfranchised and debarred from office by the remaining fourth, who being church members and freemen, were alone permitted to control the government. All others were denied the sacraments of religion, and the free enjoyment and open expression of their opinions. The dominant party managed affairs quite in their own interest, and in their own way, as if the powers of government were wholly vested in themselves, with only a vague accountability in theory to a power higher than their own. In short, these fearless, independent and thinking statesmen, whose stubborn wills and firm adherence to principle was as solid as the granite rocks of their rugged coast, had built up a system of local government, which he declared was more like a state or a commonwealth than a British colony. No oath of allegiance had been administered, save to support the local charter government, and rebellion against this was a capital crime. The English colors had been insulted and defaced, freedom of speech against the party in power suppressed with a strong hand, and dissenters from the faith as there received, driven beyond the borders. As to the feeling on the death of Charles I., he says:

“At the Arrivall of the said Newes of his Mats death, “most of them seemed to rejoyce, and Some of y^m expressed

“soe much in words, being then at Supper together. He
 “was not thought to have taken a pertinent text, if not
 “such as these: ‘He pulls down ye mightye from their
 “‘Seate and Exalts the humble and meeke.’ ‘And I will
 “‘Overturue, Overturue.’”*

In short, he insisted that this growing tendency must be checked, if colonial dependence was to be maintained. Another correspondent of the Council for Foreign Plantations, writing in March, 1661, (Captain Thomas Breedon) says: “It is not unknowne to you that they looke on
 “themselves as a Free State, and how they sate in Council
 “in December last, a weeke, before they could agree of
 “writing to his Matie there being too many against owning
 “the King, or their haveing any dependance on England.”†

The remedies that Maverick prescribed were, an embargo and non intercourse for a time, cutting off trade with the West Indies, and supplies from Britain, until dependence was felt and acknowledged, a general governor over the whole of New England, the recall of charters, as forfeited, an extension of the privileges of freemen, freedom of conscience, and as light a burden of taxes as possible. He urged the appointment of Commissions for the dividing up of land into several subordinate governments, and for devising plans of revenue, and with a patriotism not unlike that of the office seeker of modern times, he adds, “myselfe and one or two more well experienced there, shall at all tymes waite on your Lordship to shew our
 “weake apprehensions, if desired.”

These considerations and much more of the same tenor, urged by Samuel Maverick both in personal interview and by letter, taken in connection with the events that followed,

* Clarendon Papers, Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1869, p. 24.

† Clarendon Papers, Collec. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1869, p. 17. An address to the King was agreed upon at the first day of the meeting of the General Court, Dec. 19, 1660.—[Records of Mass., iv., Part i., p. 449.]

very much in the manner he had advised, lead us to infer that not only was the reduction of New Netherland largely due to his suggestions, but that the attempt to annihilate the charters, and to consolidate the several New England governments into one, which was made soon after the accession of the Duke of York as James II., may have been first suggested by him. As for his motives, he solemnly affirms in his correspondence with Clarendon: "Truly my Lord, whatever I have declared is truth, I have "no selfe end in what I have donn, only a desire (yf it may "be) that as I saw the first settlement of those p^{ts} so that "I may see the reducement of them under his Maties obe- "dience." On another occasion he declares: "I can truly "and wth confidence affirme, that neither avarice, ambition, "or desire of revenge, hath put me on what I have donn in "this business from first to last. It is zeale to his "Maties Service, and affection to the many thousands of "his Maties loyall subjects, and my sufferinge friends "wch hath made me so bould att this tyme, as formerly to "be troublesome to your Lordship."*

The plans for reducing the Dutch to English allegiance having been perfected, a fleet of four ships and an overpowering force appeared in the harbor of New Amsterdam, in August, 1664, and on the 27th of that month, articles of surrender were signed without attempting resistance.

The English, upon succeeding to the Dutch of New Netherland, found a government organized upon the theory that while its burdens should be tolerable, and its opportunity for the acquirement and possession of property ample, its authority should be unquestioned. A Director General and Council exercised executive, legislative, and judicial authority as they deemed the interests of the colony to require, admitting no superiors but the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch West India Company and the State

* Clarendon Papers, Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1869, p. 33.

General of Holland, and frowning into silence the murmurs of such English subjects on the western end of Long Island as had ventured to demand a voice in the enactment of the local laws that governed them. The feudal law of the Netherlands had been introduced, and manors endowed with peculiar privileges, strange to the self-governing colonies of New England, but consistent with the general tenor of English law, had been established. In short, a general habit of obedience to authority when not oppressive, had rendered this colony a favorable stock upon which to engraft the institutions and the laws of England, and the Dutch colony became a ducal province with scarcely more disturbance than that we now a days observe, when a state, or the nation, after going through the stormy discussions of a political campaign, in which the most opposite theories of government are urged, and the gravest disasters promised by each, under the rule of the other. Yet no sooner is the result of the election known, than the victorious party becomes moderate and conciliatory, and the defeated are led to admit that their opponents, after all, evince some talent for government, and may be well meaning, although they could themselves do better. If one party becomes watchful, the other becomes wary; one seeking to detect, and the other to avoid just occasion for censure, and both for effect on the next election.

Thus New Netherland became New York, but so quietly that business went on the next day as it had the day before, and with so little change in their local affairs, that the steady and quiet burghers scarcely felt the change.

The affairs of the English Colonies at this period stood as follows: Maine, westward from the Sagadahoc or Kennebeck, had been granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in 1639, with ample powers of government, as well as title to soil, but the inhabitants of its scattered settlements, as

well as those of Mason's Patent in New Hampshire, had long before accepted the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

I am aware that in the presence of the child, one should speak with due respect of the parent. But as more than fifty years have passed since Maine has been accustomed to think and act for herself, and with full maturity of intellect can now examine questions which would once have scarcely been admitted to argument, let me ask: Was there ever a people, at all times so ready and willing to govern themselves and their neighbors as this same colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England?

We know how her broad right wing extended down the eastern coast as far as Englishmen dwelt, or claimed title, none being allowed to question authority or criticise forms, provided they bore the sanction of her General Court. New Plymouth, separate for a time, could never show the royal sanction of her title, and was finally absorbed by her ambitious neighbor. On the conquest of the Pequots of Connecticut, Massachusetts claimed a part of the soil as her share of the spoils, and gave municipal laws to a town within the limits of another colony.* When a party of her citizens set out in 1635 to penetrate the wilderness, and found a settlement in the then scarcely known region of the Connecticut, a part of their outfit consisted of a town charter, or an instrument for local government, which gave to the grantees, "in a legal and open manner, by way of Court, to proceed in execution of the power and authority aforesaid; and in case of necessity, two of them joining together to inflict corporal punishment upon any

* A tract between the Mystic river on the west, and the Weepapaugh, (a brook four miles east of Pawtucket) on the east, in the present town of Stonington. The town of "Southern" received a charter, October 1656, from Massachusetts. The jurisdiction was settled by the commissioners of the United Colonies, as within the bounds of Connecticut.—[Colonial Records of Conn., 1636-65; 1665-77.

"offender, if they see good and warrantable ground to do so."*

As a citizen of New York I have a right to remember that this left wing of authority extended beyond the Connecticut, and that she set up claims under a vague and random grant of the colonial charter, extending westward between certain parallels of latitude, to the south seas. Under these claims she asked protection for her settlers on the Hudson, and proposed to extend her surveys far beyond that river.†

* Hazard's Am., State Papers, i., 321.

† 1659, 12: 9mo. "In answ^r to the peticon of Tho. Clarke, Wm Payne, Tho. Lake, John Richards, George Corwin, & Walker Princ, "in behalfe of themselves & company, the Court judgeth it meete "to order that a present clajme be made of our just rights upon "Hudson's River, neere the Fort of Awrانيا, [Orange] by a letter "from this Court to the Dutch governor desiring that free liberty "be permitted, according to the custom of nations, by theire efforts "to or from such tounne or townes as shall be erected there wthin our "jurisdiction, & order the sajd letter to be delivered to Major Wm "Hauthorne & Mr John Richards, whom this Court hath appointed "Messengers for that end from this Court, & also from the company. And itt is further graunted by this Court that the trade "wthin fiveteene miles of the sajd river shall be settled only on the "peticoners & company, for twelve yeares now next ensuing, and to "have liberty to trade such comoditjes as the Dutch usually trade, "provided that any freeman of this jurisdiccon may come in & be "admitted to that company betweene this and the next Generall "Court by theire allowance; the sajd messengers carrying the "Court's letter to ye Dutch governor at the sd companys charge." —[Records of Mass., iv., part 1, page 395.

1660, May 31. "Itt is ordered that Major Humphry Atherton, "Mr Jno Pinchon, & Left Roger Clap shall & hereby are impowred "as a comittee for the runing of the south lyne of this colony, & "the same to be continewed forty miles, more or lesse, on the "southwest of Hudson's River, and to agree wth such artists as "they may best gajne for the effecting thereof, & all theire chardges "to be repajd by the Treasurer of the country."—[Ib. 424.

In March 1672, John Paine was sent to settle claims on the Hudson river.—[Gen. Entries, iv., 177, 178. Secretary's Office, Albany.

These claims were not urged during the colonial period, but were brought forward after the revolution, and finally referred to the decision of Commissioners appointed by the two states, in a convention held at Hartford in 1786. By this, the right of soil in some sixteen counties, now the finest and fairest within the state of New York, was conceded to Massachusetts, leaving to us the barren honors of governing as subjects those whom she might send as her customers.

As for the other colonies, at the period of first English occupation of New York, we find Rhode Island and Connecticut with newly acquired charters, so acceptable that they both long survived the colonial system of government of which they formed a part. New Jersey and Delaware, so far as then occupied, passing as a part of Dutch conquest under the authority of the English at New York; Maryland had been a proprietary government since 1632; Virginia, after a short existence under a corporate company, had long before become a Royal province, and further down the coast the Carolinas were just receiving a proprietary charter, being as yet mostly a stranger to the civil law, and almost unknown to the world.

With the expedition that made the English masters at New York, came four Royal Commissioners, one of them being the same Maverick who had seen and felt so much of Massachusetts misrule, as he regarded it, and who now came clothed with general powers to settle disputed boundaries, hear complaints, redress grievances, and settle the New England colonies generally in more direct obedience to the English crown. It was quite natural for the Massachusetts government to regard him with jealousy, that they should look upon him as their enemy, and that a knowledge of this feeling should have led Clarendon to gently hint, in a letter written in March 1664-5, "I am very confident the knowledge you have of their prejudice towards you, will make you much the more carefull and

"watchfull in your own carriage, that they may have no
"just exception against any thing you doe, and that they
"may plainly discern that you are quite another man in a
"publick trust than what they tooke you to be as a neigh-
"bour, and that you have wiped out of your memory all
"impressions which ill treatment might have made in you.
"For if you should reveng any old discourtesies at the
"King's charge, and as his Commissioner should do any
"thing upon the memory of past injuries, the king would
"take it very ill, and do himself justice accordingly."* I
am not aware that this well intended caution was needed,
or that the confidence placed in Maverick was knowingly
abused. But human nature is alike in all ages, although
the restraints of government may modify its expression.
In the case of Massachusetts, the government was practi-
cally the General Court of their own election; and when
we consider that one of these Commissioners had formerly
been their subject, that he had been regarded and treated
as an enemy to their institutions, and that he had probably
left them promising retributive justice, we need not be
surprised to know, that while well received by the other
New England Colonies, they were here regarded with the
greatest jealousy, their authority questioned, their decisions
disregarded, and their proceedings made a subject of
bitter complaint. Mr. Maverick and his associates spent
several weeks in the colony, and visited the eastern parts.
They mention the inhabitants of the region beyond the
Kennebec as without government, and they commissioned
magistrates at Pemaquid and other settlements on that
coast.†

* Colonial Hist. N. Y., iii., 92.

† The subsequent career of Maverick has not been fully traced. He received from the Duke of York a house on Broadway, in the city of New York, for which, in a letter dated October 15, 1669, he expresses abundant gratitude.—[New York Colonial History, iii., 185.] This is the latest mention we find of him in the New York

Beyond this exercise of authority, and a friendly letter from Governor Lovelace, in February 1672-3,* we find no evidence that the government of New York paid special attention to these eastern dependencies for the next ten years. In August 1673, New York fell again into the hands of the Dutch, but by the treaty of Westminster, February 9, 1674, between England and the States General, each power agreed to surrender all conquests of the war, and of course New York was included in this agreement. On the 29th of June, 1674, the Duke of York obtained a renewal of his former grants to silence all questions of title, that might be raised on account of the interruption of authority by the Dutch, and on the 1st of July he appointed Major Edmond Andros as his Lieutenant Governor of New York, with which the country east of the Kennebec was expressly included. The English occupation of New York was not, however, resumed until November following, and in the mean time, in the summer of 1674, a court was held at Pemaquid by authority of the General Court of Massachusetts. It is therefore just two hundred years ago the present year since English authority was restored to New York and its dependencies, and excepting as reduced in boundaries by sale and transfer, it remained unchanged until overthrown by revolution, leaving still in the land-titles, laws and customs, lasting evidences of its power.

In August, 1676, just after the death of Philip, and before that event could be known here, Pemaquid was attacked and burned by the Indians, but the inhabitants having notice of danger, mostly escaped. As soon as news of this event was received, the New York Council resolved to send a sloop to bring away as many as chose to come,

records, and it is generally supposed that he died in that city not long afterwards.

* Pemaquid Papers, (Coll. Me. Hist. Soc., v.,) p. 6.

and to give them land in any part of the government they might choose.* On the 9th of June, 1677, the council resolved to send eastward to assert the Duke's interests at Pemaquid, make peace with the Indians, and restore and protect the inhabitants.† Lieutenant Anthony Brockholls, Ensign Cæsar Knapton, and Mr. Mathias Nicolls, were sent to build a fort, and establish the Duke's authority with blank commissions of the peace, to be filled with such names as they might find worthy. Under these orders Fort Charles was built, being probably like the former one, made of earth and surmounted by timbers. It was garrisoned by troops under authority of New York, while it remained an appendage to that government, and its subsequent history under this authority presents few details that can interest the living age. A custom house was established at Pemaquid, at which all vessels trading within the Duke's territories in these parts, were to enter. Land was to be given to settlers at a nominal quitrent of one shilling per one hundred acres per annum, but for mutual aid, families were not to be allowed to settle less than twenty in number in a new place, and all settlers were to provide themselves with arms and ammunition. Several grants of land are still extant, showing that this authority was exercised to a certain extent, but we do not learn that the government of New York made especial effort to extend settlements in these remote dependencies.

From a petition of the settlers of New Dartmouth, a settlement on the Duke's territories west of the Damariscotta, in 1684,‡ we learn, that although they had civil magistrates, and were entitled to the same privileges of government as the other parts of the colony under his Royal Highness, the same abuse of military power had grown into practice here, that we so often find elsewhere,

* Pemaquid Papers, p. 8.

† *Ib.*, p. 14.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 95.

and in all ages, where responsibility is remote, opportunities for its exercise easy, and prospect of restraint scarcely to be apprehended. This tendency to aggression has led the framers of our Constitutions to insert the declaration now everywhere accepted as an essential feature of our government, that the military shall be subordinate to the civil power in time of peace.

In the affairs we are noticing, the settlers complain that they had among them one Captain Manning, with a company of soldiers, who was very troublesome; that he meddled with their town business, disturbed their public meetings, and "brags that his power is better than ours, "and sayth that he will settle whom he will, and where "he pleases." They also complain of a party among them, claiming that the authority of Massachusetts is paramount to that of New York, and that between these evils, while they are claimed as the subjects of both governments, they enjoy the protection of neither. Their justices were overawed and threatened, and justice was unknown.

On the 13th of September, 1683, John Allen was appointed sheriff, and on the division of New York into counties, November 1, 1683, the Duke's territories between the Kennebec and the St. Croix became Cornwall county, and entitled to one Representative in the General Assembly first established in that year.

Upon the death of Charles II., February 6, 1685, the Duke of York ascended the throne as James II., and the Ducal possessions became vested in the crown.

No sooner had this despotic sovereign, whose aversion to popular rights was only equalled by his fondness for personal power, assumed the royal office, than he commenced the arbitrary proceedings which hastened his downfall. In 1686 he undertook to consolidate the New England governments, and appointed Sir Edmond Andros as Governor General, suspending the charter governments, and carrying into effect the measures which Maverick had

some twenty-four years before advised as most effectual for reducing the Massachusetts colony to obedience to the crown. On the 19th of September, 1686, a royal order was issued attaching Pemaquid to the new New England government,* and its subsequent history forms a part of that of Massachusetts and of Maine. A small garrison was continued until August 2, 1689, when it was taken and destroyed by Indians. In 1692, a stone fort was built under direction of Governor Phipps, and named Fort William Henry. It was taken by French and Indians in 1696, and for more than thirty years afterwards the whole region between the Kennebec and Penobscot lay utterly waste. A stone fort was again erected in 1729, under Colonel David Dunbar, and the traces of this still remain.

The administration of Andros suddenly ended on the 18th of April, 1689, the exasperated citizens of Boston scarcely waiting for the confirmation of a rumor which fortunately proved true, to the effect that James had fled, and that William and Mary, under the brightest auspices, had become established in the royal power.

I am well aware how utterly detested by all New England was the character and administration of Sir Edmond Andros. Without attempting to examine the grounds for this hatred, which might have fallen with equal weight upon any other person who might have been chosen to carry into effect the ambitious designs of the despotic James II., I may be permitted to remark, that we find in his career as governor of New York during the two periods of his previous administration of the affairs of that colony, together making nearly five years and a half, nothing to justify the belief that he was actuated, when left to his own discretion, by other motives than a desire for the public good. His father had been master of ceremonies to the unfortunate Charles I., and he had been trained up from

* Pemaquid Papers, p. 130.

boyhood in attachment to the family, whose fortunes he served, through every phase of adversity as well as prosperity, to the end. He had been bred in the school of arms, and taught the first lesson of the soldier, unquestioning obedience to superior orders. From his association since early life with the prince, whose short and inglorious reign we have alluded to, being some four years younger, he had doubtless been attached to him by the strongest ties of personal friendship and family interest. At a still later period, when this royal patron had been driven into exile, we still find Andros in the confidence of William and Mary, as governor of Virginia, actively engaged in founding the college which has borne until our day the united names of these sovereigns, and bringing order out of chaos, in the records and business affairs of that colony. Let us regard him as a man not altogether bad, but rather as the over-zealous agent of an ambitious and unscrupulous master.

All rights under Gorges having been purchased, as the powers of government had long before been acquired by Massachusetts, the whole of the Maine coast, as well as the New Plymouth colony, and the islands off its coast which had long been connected with New York as Duke's County, were confirmed to Massachusetts by the Provincial charter of 1691. This coast remained identical with Massachusetts in government and interest nearly a hundred and thirty years, and until the amicable separation of Maine, in 1820.

Let me, before closing, and lest I be misunderstood, say a few words with reference to the policy which prevailed in the Massachusetts government in these early years, of which we have been speaking. It has been mentioned as strict, intolerent, and aggressive; claiming the protection of their charter whenever threatened with interference from the parent government, yet ever willing to find license therein for any measure that interest might render desirable. But we must remember that these resolute and self-

dependent people lived in an age of intolerance and oppression, and that they themselves had felt the weight of that tyranny over mind and conscience, which made the absolute and unquestioned enjoyment of opinions a privilege worth defending at all hazards. There were not a few among them who had enjoyed the privileges and borne the honors of English Universities; there were not many who had not enjoyed the opportunities of a common education. Allowed from the first to enjoy the essential privileges of self government, they were accustomed to study the principles upon which government is founded, and, with a freedom startling to those attributing divine right to kings, they often ventured to assert the right of men to govern themselves, and so far as circumstances allowed they applied this theory to practice. In their persistent defense of rights of territory, under the strict interpretation of grants made with vague and incorrect knowledge of the geography of the country, we find asserted the *inviolability of contracts*, a principle now engrafted upon our Constitutions, beyond the power of legislation, and firmly established by the binding precedents of our highest courts.

We find no great landed estates, peopled with an obsequious tenantry, ready to appear as armed regiments at the word of a lord-proprietor, but a body of freeholders and freemen, not backward to appear in arms whenever the public rights were endangered, and ready to return to their homes when the danger was over. The wealth of the country, such as it was, we find widely distributed among those who had acquired it by their own toil, and who, knowing the worth of property from the hardship of getting, were the more certain to know how to defend it.

In other colonies we find other causes tending to educate the people to a similar study of the principles of self government. The charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut, in allowing the frequent choice of their own governors

and legislators from their own number, kept these principles constantly before them. In New York the arbitrary and oppressive conduct of royal governors, and the grasping monopolies of landjobbers, in Pennsylvania the selfish and indiscreet policy of proprietaries, and in other colonies various causes of discontent had long continued unredressed, and gradually raised in each a numerous class of earnest, fearless and thinking men, who needed but common grievances to consolidate them in a common cause. These, the follies of the British Ministry and Parliament supplied in abundance, and thus brought on the declaration and defense of that independence for which the events of more than a hundred years had been preparing.

If one should seek to study the history of our revolution in the laws of the colonies, he would find little to remark, at the moment of change from colony to State, beyond the language of the enacting clause, which ascribes the sovereign authority to the people, instead of the crown. Except in this abstract idea of allegiance, affairs went on under old titles, and former laws, very much as before, the functions of self government now finding that practical application, which had long before been well understood in theory, and in several of the colonies fully familiarized in practice. Were I asked to name the year of the revolution in New York, as the time of greatest change, I would scarcely mention 1774, when the royal governor withdrew to the protection of the British fleet, and never afterwards asserted authority, except under the protection of British arms; nor 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was endorsed by the Provincial Congress; nor 1777, when a Constitution was first formally adopted by a convention, the first of American Constitutions in which the election of a governor was entrusted directly to the people; nor in 1783, when New York was finally evacuated by British troops, but the year 1787, in which the first sweeping reforms were made in our jurisprudence, and the shackles

of colonial precedent were first taken from our system of laws. During the session of that year, Alexander Hamilton and others of brilliant talent being in the Legislature, and with such men as Jay, Yates and Livingston in the Council of Revision, we find enacted a Bill of Rights, the abolition of right of purveyance, of trial of issues by wager of law, and of many other mediæval forms of justice strangely inconsistent with modern ideas of personal rights; elections by ballot now first established on a permanent basis, having formerly been tried only as an experiment; the easy pleading in suits at law, and ample remedies against oppression and fraud; the rights of dower, of inheritance and possession, defined with a precision formerly unknown; quitrents made convertible into freehold tenure; the criminal code reformed so as to operate towards the reform and not the extermination of mankind; invention stimulated by the first promise of exclusive benefits of steam navigation to John Fitch, the pioneer in this great line of enterprise; and our higher institutions of learning established under the supervisions of the Regents of the University, upon a plan in which we have since found little chance for improvement.

Thus, in the study of history, we may find the landmarks of progress, not always marked by great and startling events, but quietly planted along the course of time, which, beginning with absolute obedience of the masses to the will of kings, and the guarded rights of privileged classes, leads down through centuries of reform, to the system of government we now enjoy. If our Revolution was begun in the early days of colonial poverty, when common dangers taught the need of common defense, and neglect the first lessons of self government, let us not suppose that it was finished when independence was acknowledged. Let us rather regard this event as one in the series which shall end only when justice and equal rights to all shall be firmly established everywhere in our land, and our rulers

from high to low degree impressed with the useful lesson, that nothing short of strict integrity and honor, not in profession only, but in practice, through every detail of business duties, will gain places of power, or secure a day's continuance longer than deserved.

ARTICLE IX.

MATERIALS FOR A
HISTORY OF FORT HALIFAX:

BEING COPIES AND ABRIDGEMENTS OF DOCUMENTS IN THE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH,
BOSTON, MASS.

MADE BY

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, Esq.,

OF BELFAST.

FORT HALIFAX.

FROM COUNCIL RECORDS.

1754, *Feb.* 8. [Vol. 2, page 327.] A letter was received from William Lithgow, dated January 23, concerning a French fort said to have been erected at the head of Kennebec River. Lithgow was instructed to enlist a number of men, and a commission of instruction was prepared for John North to proceed up that river, where said fort stands, and upon discovery thereof, to demand of the chief officer by what right they had taken possession of that land.

1754, *Aug.* 5. Council at Falmouth, where was awaited the return of Major General Winslow, who had been up the Kennebec. His Excellency having communicated to the Board the several letters he had received from him, and having asked the advice of the Council in relation to the place for building the new fort proposed to be built on the Kennebec River: *Advised*, that his Excellency give orders for building said fort, (which he proposed to call Fort Halifax) on an eminence near a fork of land at Taconick falls, and that a strong blockhouse be erected on the same fork of land: *Advised*, that his Excellency give orders that a road be cut through the woods on the main land between Fort Halifax and the storehouse at Cushnock.

1754, *Oct.* 17. [Vol. 18, page 281. Extracts from Governor Shirley's speech.] I caused the forces and workmen

to proceed to Kennebec River, for building a new fort there, and ordered the five hundred men to reconnoitre the head of that river, and the great carrying-place between that and the Chaudière. The French Jesuit at Penobscot strove to prevent those tribes from meeting me. I pitched on the spot or fork between Sebesticook and Kennebec for Fort Halifax; the former empties three-fourths of a mile from Taconnet* Falls, thirty-seven above Richmond Fort, fifty miles from Penobscot, and thirty-one miles by water and twenty-two by land from Norridgewock. The head of navigation on the Kennebec is Cushenoc, and the Plymouth Company have concluded to aid in building a house there of hewn timber, one hundred feet by thirty-two, and a blockhouse twenty-four feet square, mounted with four cannon. I directed a road to be cleared for wheel carriages from Fort Western at Cushenoc to Fort Halifax at Taconnet. The latter can contain four hundred men, and is to be garrisoned by one hundred. I also placed a strong redoubt on an eminence to overlook the country road, mounted with two small cannon and a swivel. I found no French settlements. A report that war had been declared in England against France prevailed there. I tarried some time with a quorum of the Council at Falmouth, and formed a route for expresses by whaleboats between Falmouth and Taconnet; could send orders to Fort Halifax in about twenty-four hours. I visited Forts Halifax and Western. The Norridgewocks, though at first averse, declared their consent, in a formal treaty, to our making settlements on the river. I dismissed the men before Oct. 17, except one hundred and twenty, viz., one hundred at Fort Halifax, and twenty at Fort Western.

1754, Nov. 6. [Vol. 18, page 314.] Dispatches by express from the commanding officer at Taconnick, Fort Halifax, inform the Governor that Indians fell upon a

* Ticonic is now the mode of spelling.

party of that garrison, sent out to load with logs for the use of the fort, at a small distance from it, killed and scalped one of the soldiers, and carried off four men as prisoners, one only escaping to the garrison. "This," in the language of Governor Shirley, "is an act of treachery and barbarity in the Indians, which gives a new aspect to our affairs and interests in the Eastern parts, and requires new measures for our security. I have stopped the Province sloop, with the commander of Fort Halifax on board, till it was determined what orders ought to be given on the occasion. The sloop being loaded with the winter stores for the several forts in the eastern parts, must go forth to St. Georges and Pemaquid to be discharged of some part of her lading before she will be able to go to Cushenoc, with the stores for Fort Halifax. It is determined not to send the presents to the Norridgewocks and Penobscots, till satisfaction is obtained that they were not concerned in the late attack upon the English near the garrison at Taconnet on the Kennebec River."

1754, *Nov.* 21. Six thousand pounds raised for payment of the forces in the late expedition to Kennebec. One hundred pairs of snowshoes, and as many of moccasins to be sent to Fort Halifax.

1754, *Dec.* 10. News by a captive who had purchased his freedom, and come from Canada, that the French had formed the design for attacking Fort Halifax with five hundred French and Indians, who were assembling at Quebec before he left Montreal. It was proposed to send to the Captains of the independent companies in the eastern parts to detach and assemble, in all, five hundred men to be ready at the fort to meet the enemy. Five cohorn mortars are to be sent there.

1754, *Dec.* 11. [Vol. 2, p. 371.] *Advised*, that his Excellency send forthwith to the commander of Fort Halifax the advice he has received of the designs of the French

and English to attack that fortress. Ordered to send also bedding and clothing.

1754, *Dec.* 25. [Vol. 18, p. 355.] Two truckmasters chosen as usual, and John Wheelwright for purchasing provisions for the truck trade.

Voted, to send forty men to reinforce Fort Halifax, and that four hundred and sixty men be detached out of said independent companies nearest said garrison, as minute men.

1754, *Dec.* 20. Voted to request the Captain-General to give orders for reinforcing the garrison at Fort Halifax, with the further augmentation of sixty effective men, to be taken out of the independent companies at the eastward, and to be employed in scouting up the River Kennebec, and parts adjacent, and have four hundred more in constant readiness, to be raised out of said companies and the militia nearest said garrison, to march instantly for their relief on the first advice of an attack, or the approach of an enemy.

It was determined to send a committee of two to examine the great carrying-place between Kennebec and the Chaudière, and great exertions be made to furnish at this season the garrison at Fort Halifax with provisions, ammunition, and necessaries, and the fort to be put in the best possible state of defense.

1754, *Dec.* 27. Several persons of this province, some of whom were soldiers taken from the fort at Kennebec, are now captives in Canada, with others from New Hampshire, and it is proposed to send Captain Phineas Stevens, of No. 4, to Canada to redeem them. But February 11, 1755, the General Court would employ no more to purchase captives, because such purchases encouraged the Indians to continue their depredations on the frontiers.

1755, *May* 19. [Vol. 2, p. 404.] One hundred and fifty men ordered from Sir William Pepperrell's regiment, and one hundred and fifty out of other regiments in York

County, and furnished with ammunition and arms, to escort provisions, now at the mouth of Kennebec River, intended for Fort Halifax.

1755, *June* 10. [Vol. 18, p. 475.] Independent companies in the County of York were called upon to guard the stores sent to Kennebec River for Fort Halifax, and refused to appear and engage in that service, which occasioned a large number of inhabitants in the towns in said county to be impressed and attended with great grief and inconvenience to them, and his Excellency was requested to disband said independent companies.

FROM JOURNAL OF MASSACHUSETTS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
VOL. XXII.

1754, *June* 10. Voted that the three hundred men ordered as an augmentation of Colonel Winslow's regiment to the eastward shall not be entitled to the bounty money granted for their enlistment, unless they provide themselves with sufficient arms to the acceptance of the muster master.

[Page 27.] Resolved, that the charge of furnishing such arms be deducted out of such deficient soldiers' respective wages.

[Page 28.] Colonel Winslow having represented that many of the soldiers have families whom they are unable to leave without support, and others are destitute of sufficient clothing, it was voted that they have a monthly advance pay.

[Page 33.] The Governor in his message, (June 12,) thought it necessary that some of his council should accompany him to the eastward. The House refused to appoint a committee.

1754, *Nov.* 6. [Page 96.] Governor Shirley communicates to the House that he has lately received dispatches by express from the commanding officer at Taconic, informing him that the Indians fell upon a party of that garrison

sent out to load with logs for the use of the fort at a small distance from it, and killed and scalped one of the soldiers, and carried off four more prisoners, one only escaping to the garrison.

The letters relating to this affair, and other matters of importance, the Secretary will lay before you.

This act of barbarity and treachery in the Indians gives a new aspect to our affairs and interests in the eastern parts, and will require new measures for our security.

The House desired the Governor to stop the presents to the eastern Indians, ordered this session.

1754, *Nov.* 12. Thirteen men ordered to be enlisted or impressed for Taconnet.

1754, *Nov.* 23. £6,000 appropriated to defray the expense of the late expedition to Kennebec, which provided for the hire of the transports, seaman's and workmen's wages, all equally employed with the soldiers in the same service.

1754, *Dec.* 21. The Board did not pass the order relating to the reinforcement of Fort Halifax, because they were apprehensive that there was not a sufficient quantity of provisions and necessary stores in the garrison for the forces already posted there, and the proposed augmentation, and that the season was so far advanced that the transporting said articles would be attended with great difficulty. Thereupon the Commissary General was ordered in, and inquiry made of him as to the state Fort Halifax was in with regard to provisions, bedding, &c., who answered that in September last there were provisions for the eighty men posted there at that time, and that there had been none sent for the last augmentation of thirty men, there having been no opportunity of transporting since. That he had provided about twenty beds, blankets, &c., which he proposed should go by water to within about fifty miles of Fort Halifax, from whence they must be transported by land carriage.

1754, *Dec.* 21. A committee was appointed to take into consideration the state of Fort Halifax, and report what they think further necessary to be done for the better securing the same.

1754, *Dec.* 23. The committee made a report, which was accepted, and the House voted that his Excellency, the Captain General, be desired as soon as may be, to appoint some suitable person to repair to Fort Halifax on Kennebec River, with special authority to strengthen the same, as also the blockhouse, a redoubt on the hill near the same, in such manner as to make the same proof against small cannon in such parts of those fortresses as are most exposed to the approach of an enemy, and that the said person be authorized to govern and conduct the whole affairs of said garrison during his stay there, and that he be directed to employ the soldiers in scouting and garrison duty, and also do the labor necessary to strengthen said fortresses, at such moderate rates as he may agree with them for; and in case of the death or sickness of said person, that his Excellency be desired to appoint some person to perfect the same; and also that the Captain General be desired to give orders for reinforcing said garrison with forty effective men to be taken out of the independent companies at the eastward. And further that the Captain General be desired to order four hundred and sixty men more be raised out of said independent companies, and the militia nearest the said garrison, from whence they may be best spared, and be held in readiness to march instantly to their relief on the first advice of an attack or the approach of an enemy, and that the forty men be kept in the pay of the government during the time the works are carrying on for the strengthening said garrison, and then dismissed, and that said four hundred and sixty men be entitled to no pay but from the day they shall march.

1754, *Dec.* 23. The committee reported that it cost for the pay of the officers and soldiers in the late expedition

up Kennebec River, £5,013 7s 6d, and that the balance, £987 7s 8d, be paid to the workmen and transports in said expedition.

1754, *Dec.* 24. Twenty double beds and forty single blankets ordered to be purchased and sent to Fort Halifax for the use of the forty men ordered for the reinforcement of the garrison.

1754, *Dec.* 27. An agent ordered to be sent to Canada, in relation to persons now in captivity in Canada, some of them soldiers, and taken from Fort Halifax.

1755, *Feb.* 18. Committee appointed to consider the state of Fort Halifax.

1755, *June* 10. Eighty men ordered, and no more, to Fort Halifax.

1755, *Aug.* 13. Thirty men be made out from the men ordered for defense of the eastern frontiers, to go and be employed in guarding the provisions to Fort Halifax, and guarding the workmen while at work. They shall be relieved in a time not exceeding three months.

1755, *Oct.* 30. Fort Halifax, and the storehouse at Cushenoc to be garrisoned with eighty men and no more.

1756, *April* 8. A guard ordered for transporting the provisions and stores wanted at Fort Halifax, to the storehouse at Cushenoc, and that his Excellency be desired to give orders for supplying Fort Halifax with two cannon, nine pounders, and a suitable quantity of grapeshot for the same, provided they can be spared from other forts or garrisons in the Province, and that his Excellency be desired to order a discharge of all the soldiers posted at Fort Halifax, who have been in the service there over twelve months, provided they desire it, and fresh men can be supplied from the County of York in their room. And that Captain Lithgow be directed to give information of the charge that will arise in shingling or clapboarding the buildings there, and whether it be the sides, or roofs, or both, that need the same.

FROM MESSAGES AND SPEECHES, VOL. I., PAGE 625.

Extract from Governor Shirley's Message, dated Oct. 18, 1754.

In compliance with the vote of the House, I raised eight hundred men and went to Falmouth, where I had an interview with the Penobscot and Norridgewock Indians, and caused the workmen to proceed to Taconnet, with orders for five hundred men to go up the Kennebec River and explore if there were any French settlements between that river and the great carrying-place on the Chaudière.

The place where I concluded to erect a fort was thirty-seven miles above Richmond, on a fork of land formed by the Kennebec and Sebesticook, the latter emptying into the former about three-fourths of a mile from Taconnet Falls. It is computed to be not quite fifty miles from Penobscot, and thirty-one from Norridgewock by water, and twenty-two by land as measured by a chain.

The only known communication which the Penobscots have with the River Kennebec and the Norridgewock Indians, is through the Sebesticook, which they cross within 10 miles from Taconnet Falls, and their most commodious passage from Penobscot to Quebec, is through the Kennebec to the River Chaudière, so that a fort here cuts off the Penobscots not only from the Norridgewocks, but also from Quebec, and as it stands at a convenient distance to make a sudden and easy descent upon their head-quarters, is a strong curb upon them, as also upon the Norridgewocks. As the river is not navigable above Cushenoc, a storehouse must be erected there, which the Plymouth Company proposed to build there as per plan. The vote I accepted, and the Company have built such a storehouse, which will protect the public stores, as well as offer inducements to settlers. I caused a road of communication between Cushenoc and Fort Halifax to be cleared for wheel carriages, and transportation in one day will be rendered practicable.

A plan of Fort Halifax shall be laid before you. It is capable of containing four hundred men, and being garrisoned with one hundred, is of sufficient strength to stand an assault which may reasonably be expected to be made on it by Indians or French with small arms.

As it is overlooked by an eminence from behind, within cannon shot, I should have chosen and sent orders to have it placed there, but finding upon examination that the carriage of stone sufficient for the foundation of a fort of the dimensions proposed would occupy three teams of oxen five months, and that it could not be completed until next summer, and would have cost above double, and considering the difficulty the French must have to transport cannon and mortars by land to attack it, there is but little danger of their attempting it. I ordered Major General Winslow to proceed in carrying on the fort upon the point of land where it is now built. General Winslow and his officers, in a council of war, unanimously fixed upon it as the best plot of ground near Taconet, and have no doubt it will answer every purpose. In the mean time, to avoid a surprise of this kind, I have caused a strong redoubt, of twenty feet square in the second story, and piequetted round, to be erected on that part of the eminence which overlooks the country round, and mounted with two small cannon, two pounders, and one swivel, and garrisoned with a sergeant's guard of twelve men. It is large enough to contain five large cannon and fifty men.

The Governor also states that with five hundred men he went up the river seventy-five miles to the great carrying-place, and explored both sides, that the time occupied was ten days, and that a survey and plan of the route was made. That he settled upon a route from Fort Halifax to Falmouth, for expresses by means of whaleboats, so that information could be forwarded in twenty hours, and back again in twenty-four.

General Winslow's journal from the time of leaving, is

before you.* I left one hundred men at Fort Halifax, and twenty at Cushenoc.

EXTRACTS FROM VOLUME MARKED "LETTERS, VOL. IV."

[Page 126.] FORT HALIFAX, SEPT. 9, 1755.

Letter from William Lithgow, Commander at Fort Halifax, to Colonel Samuel Goodwin, Fort Frankfort, informing him that "as we were coming up the river "between Cushenoc and Fort Halifax, we espied sundry "tracks of Indians, and it appeared by the course of the "same, that they were going down the river on the western "side, and further a very large track up Sebasticook River. "It is judged by us all that the enemy has gone down the "river in order to fall on the inhabitants," and requests him to send notice to the exposed places. Goodwin received the letter September 11, at ten o'clock A. M., in the woods, and communicates to Governor Shirley that he immediately apprised the settlements at Pemaquid, Walpole, Georges, &c.

[Page 158.] SEPTEMBER 26, 1755.

Letter giving Lithgow orders about raising forces to protect the transportation of provisions and stores to Fort Halifax.

[Page 291.] BOSTON, APRIL 11, 1754.

Letter from government to Captain John Bane to proceed to the Kennebec River, and there make discoveries if the French are building a fort, to report the result to Lithgow, commander of Richmond fort, and to approach as near as possible without hazard, and to take special notice of the land lying near Kennebec River, between Cushenoc and Taconnet, and especially near Taconnet

* It is not to be found in the Secretary's office.

Falls, and also observe the falls, and how far it is practicable, and in what manner to convey provisions and other goods from Cushenoc and Taconnet.

[Page 298.]

BOSTON, APRIL 25, 1754.

Colonel John North is ordered by the Governor, agreeably to the request of the Plymouth proprietors, to send a sufficient number of men well armed, under the command of Samuel Goodwin, up Kennebec River so far as Taconnet falls, to view the lands thereabouts, and particularly to observe what timber may be there, suitable for building a fort. If they meet with Indians they are not to offer any violence, only in their own defense, and are to press forward.

[Page 315.]

FALMOUTH, AUG. 29, 1754.

Governor Shirley writes to the secretary at Boston, that the forces had now returned to Falmouth from Kennebec.

[Page 318.]

FALMOUTH, SEPT. 4, 1754.

The governor writes to the secretary that the province sloop carried him to Cushenoc and Taconnet, but that for the sake of expedition, he returned to Falmouth in the Castle Pinnacle.

[Page 334.]

BOSTON, NOV. 12, 1754.

Bradbury, commander of the fort at St. Georges, and Lithgow, at Fort Halifax, are instructed by the governor to maintain a constant correspondence relative to the Indians, and the safety of his Majesty's posts.

[Page 345.]

BOSTON, JANUARY 3, 1755.

Captain Lithgow is informed by the governor that Jedediah Preble has been commissioned commander of Fort Halifax, and in case of his declining the service, you, (Lithgow,) are enjoined, without waiting for him, to make provisions for strengthening the fortress, by cutting and

drawing necessary timber, and fitting it for the work, and if Colonel Preble does not soon repair to Fort Halifax, you must proceed to the completion of said work without delay.

I have ordered forty men as recruits for the garrison at Fort Halifax, to be continued till the tenth of March next, and then to be discharged, or continued in case of any hazard from the enemy.

The Indian, Bartholomew, to act as a pilot through the woods, and in scouting.

Letter of William Lihgow to Governor Shirley.

[Page 360.]

RICHMOND FORT, JAN. 1st 9, 1755.

May it pleas your Excellency: The souldery of Fort Hallifax is in a most deplorable condition for want of shoes, bedding, and bodily cloathing, &c., as I have signifyed in my letter ye 20th Decr & it is with ye greatest conserne that I am obliged farther to acquainte your Excellency that we have scarce thirty men in this fort that are capabell of cutting or halling wood for the suply of this fort, and it is with grate difficulty they can suply themselves with wood from day to day, the snow is so deep, it is three foot at this place, and haveing no snow-shoes, and our being in a manner naked, it is out of our power were we in healthe, to keep scouters abroad, or even to sende a guarde with those men who halls wood, neither can they carry their arnes with them, being harde put to it to wal-low through the snow with their sled loades of wood, and it is harde service for those men to suply themselves and ye invallids with fireing which takes up the intier barricks. We have now but four weeks' allowance of bread in this fort, one barrell of rum, and one do. of molasses, and God knows how or where we shall be able to gitt any suplyes from Fort Western, on account of ye snow is so deep. I left Fort Hallifax on ye 4th inst., to see if ye river was

passable on ye ice, with one soldier for company, and also to try if I could collect some leather or shoes for a present relief till more shall be sent which I have got, and I have employed two shoamakers to work it up. We came all the way on ye ice, which we found to be very weak between Fort Hallifax and Fort Western, on account of as I suppose of ye grate body of snow which lyes on it, which hinders its freezing, ye ice there is sunk with snow and water, about two foot and a halfe deep. Ye under ice was so weake that we broke through sundrye times, and it was with great difficulty and hazard of our lives that we got to Fort Western, where we was detained by a storm two days. Ye 8th inst., we arrived at Richmond fort, where I thought it my duty to write yr Excellency this letter.

I think it was a very bad affair that ye barricks had not been left in better order, and that there had not been more suplyes laid up in this fort, whilst the river was open. If it was bad carrying up ye stores then, I aver its ten times worse now, and I fear will continue so this winter, for I doubt ye river above Fort Western will be hard to freeze, on account of ye strong currents that runs there, and as to ye cut rodes being any service, it would take fifty men and ten yoke of oxen two days to brake, and after it was broaken, it would choake up with ye first wind that blew. Some of ye gullyes now are drifted ten or fifteen foot deep with snow, that I think it will never be of much service to us for transporting our provisions, till such times as ye country is settled, and more teams frequents that rode than what may be allowed for Fort Hallifax; but these dull complaintes avail us but little, to extracate us out of our present difficulties, it remains now to think of the best way by which that garrison can be relieved, and I would with submission offer your Excellency my humble oppinion upon the matter, which is, that your Excellency give the independent companies or other forces that may be raised as succers for the defence of the river, orders to provide or

impress oxen or other cattel with provinder, and slades or carrs, and those cattel to be imployed in halling the stores and other suplyes that will soon be landed for this river (for the suplye of Fort Hallifax) up to Fort Western, for farther, I believe cattel will be of no service, on account of ye river being dangerous for cattle to travel on, as I have already observed, and that a proper number of good men with snowshoes may be imployed in carrying up provisions from Fort Western to Fort Hallifax, and after ye road is beten well, and ye invallids that may be able to travel after being shod, for them to march down ye river and tarry with ye provisions which will save a grate deal of fatigue of carrying of ye provisions to them, and that there be good men placed at Fort Hallifax in their rooms. I should have now dismissed some worthless fellows, who dos littel other duty than eates their allowence, could they have travelled home, for they will never do any service here, or any where else. This garrison I think has its full share of such creatures, that resembels men in nothing but ye human shape, but such will do for forts where they have nothing to doe but eate and sleepe. . . .

We want very much a sortment of herbs for ye sicke, our doctor has left us, and we have no one here that knows ye use of our medisons. A great many of our men has been sick, and continues so, but none of them have yet recovered to their former healthes, nor will do so, I believe, this winter. The men in general seems very low in spirits, which I impute to their wading so much in ye water in ye summer and fall, which I believe has very much hurt ye circulation of their blood and filled it full of gross humers, and what has added to their misfortunes, is their being much straightened for want of room, and bad lodgings. In ye spring of ye year must be sent to Fort Western, ten lodes of English hay for the suplye of ye oxen that must hall ye timber for ye buildings at Fort Hallifax, otherwise we cannot go on with ye buildings there. I have

employed three carpenters this winter to prepair timber for the above buildings. I have agreed with two of them at thirty pounds per month, old tenor, till ye last of March, and after that, thirty shillings per day till ye last of May. I would again recomend to your Excellency eight flat bottomed boates, carrying two tons each, which I mentioned in my last letter, and that they be sent to Fort Western as early as possible next spring, to carry up our suplyes to Fort Hallifax, which I am fully satisfied must be the way we must be suplyed at the fort. I add no farther than that we will doe the best we can to subsist till we have more help. With submission I beg leave to subscribe mysele,

Your Excellency's most Dutiful Obedient Ser'vt,

WILLIAM LITHGOW.

[Page 364.]

BOSTON, JAN. 18, 1755.

Governor Shirley answered Colonel Lithgow's letter, saying that he was sorry to hear of the distress which existed at Fort Halifax. Ten days ago a vessel was sent with stores, and I have now sent a sloop with provisions and clothing for the garrison. I have also ordered Major Denny and General Watts at Arrowsick, to impress horses and cattle and carriages, together with a guard of men, to send up the stores at Fort Western. I have the utmost confidence in your vigilance, prudence, and discretion, and desire you always to impart your sentiments to me, with the utmost freedom.

[Page 371.]

FEBRUARY 21, 1755.

Colonel Lithgow writes that the stores arrived at Arrowsick and were gundalowd up the chops in Merrymeeting Bay, and there Captains Dunning of Brunswick, and Hunter of Topsham were applyed to, with detachments from their independent companies, to assist in carrying the hay, &c., up to Fort Western, and the suplyes to Fort

Hallifax, the men being much fatigued. I have not had one day's peace of mind since I left your Excellency last fall. Captains Dunning and Hunter brought nineteen men from their independent companies, and continued in service twenty-one days, which were occupied in conveying. After distributing ye above shoes, blankets, bedding, stockings, &c., I could muster about forty effective men in the fort, who assisted Captains Dunning and Hunter.

It is considered probable that a party of French and Indians will attack the fort in the spring. The fort must be more strongly fortified with cannon. It is placed under a hill which rises nearly one hundred feet higher than the ground where the fort stands. A wall must be erected cannon-proof, and sixteen feet high, and two hundred feet long, so as to encompass half the fort that is exposed to the hill, or to cover the barracks already built, as well as those to be erected for the officers and stores, by another timber wall at a proper distance, filled in with clay on all parts of the building exposed to the hill, viz: about one-half to protect against cannon, and ye houses to be fortified up to the eaves, which are about eight feet high. I have surveyed the grounds on the hill in view of a proper place for a redoubt, as your Excellency desired, and find there is such a place. The additional buildings to be erected must be no less than two houses forty-four feet long, for officers and stores, and three small blockhouses, to be erected in the half-moons, or places of arms for the defence of the picket work, as also for sentries to stand guard in, and all these to be fortified as above, the expense of which, with another redoubt, will be great. After it is done, it will be as irregular ill formed assemblage of buildings as was ever huddled together to be called a fort, and it will be hard to defend these, on account of their irregularity, and the large circumference of ye picket work. Colonel Lithgow proposes to do one of three things: to alter the fort, to make it square, a regular fortification, or finish it in the

form begun, or build it on the hill. It will require to complete the fort, four hundred and fifty tons of timber, forty or fifty thousand shingles, and forty thousand brick, besides stone. The work cannot be performed until spring, when bricks can be made. There is no stone, except what must be got on the opposite side of the river. The timber must be cut, and hauled this winter with oxen, and hewn. Hay must be sent for the oxen. Captain Hunter was a good carpenter, and understood log work, and he and such men as could work with broad and narrow axes, were to be retained. It was excessive hard service, hauling sleds of hay and provisions from Merrymeeting Bay to Fort Halifax.

One thing I forgot to inform your Excellency, that I have been obliged constantly to allow those men that hauled firewood, stores, &c., to Fort Halifax, a certain quantity of rum, without which it would have been impossible to have done anything.

[Page 383.]

FORT WESTERN, MARCH 5, 1755.

James Howard writes the governor of an attack on the fort by the French and Indians, and prays that some cannon may be sent him. The number of men is small, and the ground in the vicinity of the fort is advantageous for a surprise. The supplies here, intended for Fort Halifax, will induce the enemy to attack us. The enemy may come and secrete themselves in one of the gullies within one hundred and fifty yards of the fort, and we cannot annoy them. When they see us leave the fort, to act as guard, convey the stores to Fort Halifax, they can lie by and attack it. We have no colors for the fort.

[Page 384.]

BOSTON, MARCH 8, 1755.

Governor Shirley answers Colonel Lithgow's letter, and says the fort shall be completed next year, and accommodations provided for his family. Orders him to make the

fort, the inside works comfortable for the men, and to look out for their healths. Informs him that the four flat bottomed boats are almost ready, and will be sent immediately. Two more are ordered, and all are to be armed with four swivels each.

[Page 394.]

FORT HALIFAX, MARCH 22, 1755.

Captain Lithgow writes that the barracks are so far done as to accommodate the soldiery in their lodgings, and that plank shutters have been made for the doors and windows. That his family must be removed from Fort Richmond, though there is no suitable place for their accommodation. Asks what shall be done in relation to completing the fort, "for as it now stands, it is one of the most extraordinary fortresses for ordinaryness, I have ever seen or heard of." I am now cutting timber for strengthening the garrison. One-half of the garrison was unable during the winter, to go abroad, on account of the scurvey and other ails. I have about two hundred tons of hewn timber now on the eminence, hewn in such a manner as to be used in any way your Excellency may be pleased to order it. I am determined to erect another redoubt on the eminence, cannon proof, to be garrisoned with a sufficient number of men to defend it against a considerable army with great artillery. If the fort should be built on the hill, the redoubt can be joined, and will make a good flanker. There must be a redoubt erected to command the hill. I have also a hundred tons of boards, loggs, and bolts, to make shingles with, most all hauled in on handsleds.

[Page 400.]

BOSTON, APRIL 2, 1755.

Governor Shirley writes Ezekiel Cushing, sending him a warrant to impress men for conveying the provisions, ammunition, &c., up the river to Fort Halifax. Advises him to consult with Colonel Lithgow as to the manner.

The hazard of sending goods is greater at this season of the year than at any other.

[Page 404.]

NEWCASTLE, APRIL 9, 1755.

Alexander Nichols writes from New Castle, that in accordance with Governor Shirley's order to Ezekiel Cushing, he raised seven men, and marched to Richmond, and from thence via Fort Western to Fort Halifax. There was no appearance of danger. I returned the fifth of this month.

[Page 412.]

FORT HALIFAX, APRIL 19, 1755.

Colonel Lithgow writes that he has got sufficient timber to build a redoubt thirty-four feet square, two stories high, cannon proof, and will command the eminence. I have determined to make the wall of said redoubt five feet thick, of square timber locked together with ties; this will be at less cost than a double wall filled in with earth, which would rot the timber. I have also got timber to build a square fort of eighty or ninety feet. With the help of the small blockhouses General Winslow erected I propose to join this fort to the large blockhouse that now contains the cannon.

The pickets that now encompass these buildings are upwards of eight hundred feet in length, a great many of which will soon fall, not being scarcely set in the ground.

[Page 418.]

GEORGES, MAY 9, 1755.

T. Fletcher writes from Georges, that on the 6th inst., the chiefs of the Penobscot tribe informed him that a body of the Norridgewock and Assagunticook Indians are going against the people of Kennebec, and that he has sent the information to the fort there.

[Page 420.]

FORT HALIFAX, MAY 11, 1755.

Colonel Lithgow writes that he has begun a redoubt in a suitable place, thirty-four feet square, the walls four feet nine inches thick, two stories high, hip roof, with watch boxes on the top, and to be surrounded at proper distances with piquets. This will be cannon proof. The first story is raised, the wall square timber tied with oak dovetails. This redoubt will command the eminence, also the falls, and all the clear land to the westward of the falls. It is also erected on the high knoll eastward of the cut path that ascends the eminence. Two pieces of good cannon should be in the building to make it well fortified, as long as the wall is thick. We can make the carriages here, to suit the height of the embrasures. Desires a guard may be sent to conduct the stores.

[Page 457.]

FORT HALIFAX, JUNE 8, 1755.

Colonel Lithgow writes Governor Shirley that one hundred and fifty men, subsequently increased to two hundred, with three flat-bottomed boats, three of those built in Boston not answering the purpose, we got canoes and whale boats at Falmouth, got the provisions and stores up to Fort Halifax, enough to last until February, without spilling a mouthful, or injuring the boats. In a week's time the redoubt will be done, except flooring, and building the chimney. It will be surrounded with open palisades, at a proper distance, to prevent the enemy's firing it. Cannot accommodate his family at Fort Halifax, unless some of the soldiers lodge out of doors. I wish to be dismissed rather than lead the miserable life I have for six months past.

BOSTON, MAY 11, 1755.

Governor Shirley writes in answer to Colonel Lithgow's letters, to go on with the redoubt, and as to the alterations

proposed in regard to Fort Halifax, the affair is one that requires some consideration. I will send my orders as soon as I advise with the general assembly.

[Page 452.] FORT HALIFAX, JUNE 14, 1755.

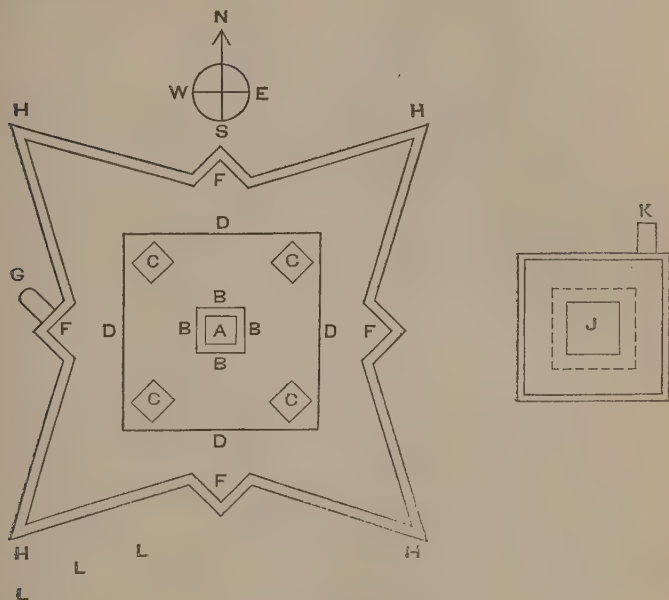
Colonel Lithgow writes Governor Shirley that he sends an invoice of sundry furs, also £400 in gold. The men are almost idle for want of work. Asks for instructions about building the fort. Four or five of the men died last winter in consequence of poor accommodations, and most all were sick.

[Page 469.] BOSTON, IN HOUSE OF REP.,
JUNE 21, 1755.

Ordered, that the committee of war take under consideration the two plans of Fort Halifax, and report to his Excellency, the Captain General, or Commander in Chief for the time being, which they judge most advantageous to the province, and also what alterations, if any, they think proper to be made in either of said plans. Concurred, June 24, 1755. May it please your Excellency, the committee to whom was referred the two plans above mentioned, having perused the same, beg leave humbly to report to your Excellency that we are of opinion that the plan drawn by Captain Lithgow touching the alterations of Fort Halifax, if pursued, will be most advantageous to the Province, and that we cannot find any alterations to make thereon, which is humbly submitted to your Excellency. T. Osborne, by order. The copy sent by Captain Lithgow attested by secretary. The Governor's letter sent, but no copy taken by the secretary. One taken by the commissary. Lithgow's plan also sent him.*

* A thorough search in the secretary's office failed to discover Lithgow's plan. It was probably retained by him.—J. W.

[Page 471.]

*Scale, 100 feet to an inch.*

- A. The lower story of the blockhouse, 20 foot.
- B. The upper story of ditto, 27 foot.
- C. The barracks, 20 foot square.
- D. The proposed line of 120 foot square.
- E. The flag staff.
- F. The stands of arms.
- G. The gate.
- H. The close pickets.
- J. Blockhouse on the hill.
- K. Gate.
- L. Sebasticook.

N. B. The officers' apartments, guard-house and armorer's shop, proposed to be built within the pickets, not yet erected, though

timber and brick sufficient provided for that purpose, and also orders given for sinking a well before we left the Fort, and kentlings provided to secure it.

BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, OCT. 4, 1754.

To his Excellency William Shirley, Esq., Captain General and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay, &c.:

This Plan of Fort Halifax at Teconnet Falls on Kennebec River, with a redoubt standing east sixteen and one half degrees north, sixty-one rods and a half, on an eminence, is dedicated by your Excellency's most obliged, most dutiful and humble servant,

JOHN WINSLOW.*

[Page 501.]

BOSTON, JULY 15, 1755.

Governor Shirley writes Lithgow to reduce his force to eighty men, no provision having been made for a larger number.

* The New York Daily Times of Nov. 6, 1852, contains a letter from Marshfield, Mass., which gives an account of the Webster house and grounds. This letter states that "Beneath a rugged elm "which stands at the east of the building lies a weather-worn block "of stone, bearing an inscription which, after a long and careful "scrutiny aided by one who noticed it some years ago, I made out "as follows :

" ' Aug. the 25, 1754.

" ' This foundation laid by

" ' Major General — Winslow.' "

"The Christian name I could not decipher." The farm of Mr. Webster originally belonged to the Winslow family, and it is probable that this stone is the corner stone of one of the blockhouses of Fort Halifax, which Mr. T. O. Paine (Waterville Mail, Nov. 25, 1852) says was removed to Plymouth, Mass., by one of Gen. Winslow's descendants. The corner stone of the fort, with a Latin inscription, is preserved in the state house at Augusta.—J. W.

EXTRACTS FROM VOLUME MARKED "LETTERS, VOL. V."

[Page 11.]

BOSTON, AUGUST 16, 1755.

Governor Shirley writes Colonel Lithgow, and encloses an order in accordance with the vote of the General Court for a guard to conduct the provisions and supplies to Fort Halifax, and thirty men are to be detached for guarding your workmen in finishing and strengthening the fort. You must improve the opportunity of the guard to have the works well strengthened and finished.

[Page 32.]

FORT HALIFAX, OCT. 17, 1755.

Colonel Lithgow writes from Richmond. Sends a barrel of potatoes. I have had a most troublesome time for the twelve months past, and all the hardships and fatigues I have endured during the twenty years spent in the service of the country would not amount to so much. We are going, as soon as the water is sufficiently high, to Fort Western to bring up our stores to Fort Halifax, which fort will be almost finished this fall.

[Page 36.]

FORT HALIFAX, OCT. 18, 1755.

Colonel Lithgow writes Governor Shirley, acknowledging his thanks for the great care shown us in furnishing a guard to transport the public stores to Fort Halifax, as the garrison posted there is in the most dangerous situation of any in the eastern frontiers. I have sent your orders to the commander of said guard, commanding them to be at Fort Western on the 23d inst., if the river is then raised sufficiently for the boats.

I enclose an estimate of work desired of the carpenter of ye making clapboards and laying them so as to render secure the buildings of Fort Halifax. If the work is not done, the stores will be exposed to ye weather, as also ye buildings themselves, and will render the officers and soldiers' quarters uncomfortable.

Memorandum for clapboarding the garrison at Ft. Halifax.

To 10 thousand clapboards, to be large, 6 inches wide, at 2s,	£220	0	0
To laying 10 thousand clapboards at 15s,	150	0	0
To making 46 window caps, and casing the same so as to receive the ends of the clapboards,			
To casing 32 ports and lookouts, and 10 doors, and making all weather boards, corner boards and water tables, and casing 160 feet q. at jet,	180	0	0
	£550	0	0

OCT. YE 17, 1755.

AARON WILLARD.

[Page 41.]

FORT HALIFAX, OCT., 20, 1755.

Colonel Lithgow writes Governor Shirley, in behalf of the soldiery, that they may be discharged this fall, as many of them have been in service for eighteen months. Prays thirty recruits may be sent, and perhaps some of those now here may be induced to stay. The reason why the men are so uneasy, is because their duty here is much harder than at any other fort. At Fort Georges, there is but one fort to guard, while here there is eighty men and four posts to defend, ye main fort, store house, and two redoubts. At other forts, and at Fort Georges, they mount guard only once in five nights, so that it is plain twenty men are as sufficient for Fort Georges, or any other near the sea, as eighty are for Fort Halifax, which is situated nearly fifty miles from inhabitants and sixty-five miles from ye sea, while other forts are surrounded by inhabitants, which makes it more agreeable to ye soldiery.

[Page 108.]

DEC. 2, 175(4)?

John Hamilton writes from Chegnecte to Doctor Sylvester Gardiner, that De Loutre expects war in the spring or

summer, that the French are vexed at the fort on Kennebec River, and a visit from them may be expected that way. One of them told me it was only thirty-seven or forty leagues from Quebec. They report that a Canadian mulatto named Prient, showed Governor Shirley the way to the Chaudière, and they were searching for him, and would put him to death when found.

[Page 132.]

NO DATE.

Captain Lithgow writes Governor Shirley, and informs him that Captain David Dunning of Brunswick, and Adam Hunter of Topsham, rendered services in January, 1755, in relieving Fort Halifax, when in a distressed condition, as many of the soldiers were then sick, having no beds, blankets, shoes, hose, and scarce bodily clothing to wear, and but little provision in the fort, and the two captains, being joyned with a few soldiers at Richmond, in ye space of three weeks, hauled by handsled on the ice from Arrow-sic to Fort Western, beds, blankets, shoes, &c., and about two hundred barrels of provisions from Fort Western to Fort Halifax, and in consideration of their services, are recommended to the consideration of the government.

EXTRACTS FROM VOLUME MARKED "LETTERS, VOL. VI."

[Page 32.]

FORT HALIFAX, MARCH 15, 1757.

Colonel Lithgow writes Governor Shirley, that as the spring is at hand when it has been usual to supply Fort Halifax with twelve months provisions, and I apprehend an attack from the French or Indian enemy, which is more probable than at any other season of the year, as the rivers and ponds are clear from ice, and consequently an easy transportation for them in ye birch canoes, and also good

hunting for beaver. Prays a guard may be sent to Cushenoc.

[Page 104.]

FORT HALIFAX, MAY 23, 1757.

Lithgow writes Governor Shirley that some hunters heard a great yelling of Indians five miles above this fort, and supposed the number to be considerable, by the noise they made. Said hunters left five of their number in the woods, who are supposed to have fallen into the hands of the Indians, as they have not returned. Rafts were discovered drifting by the fort down the river, which I suppose the Indians used to ferry themselves across, and imagine they have gone down the river among the inhabitants to do mischief. I have duly warned the settlements there of the approach, and the boat in which I sent the intelligence was attacked in its return by seventeen Indians, ten miles below the fort. Said boat contained an ensign and nine men. The Indians first fired within twenty yards of the boat, and wounded two men, not mortally, only flesh wounds, one in ye side and one in the head. The officer and crew behaved very gallantly, and immediately returned the fire upon the enemy, who were all in full view. They killed one Indian, who fell on the bank, and lay in full view during the action, which continued very furious on the boat, until she retreated to the other side of the river, in which time several men discharged their guns three times. After our men crossed the river, one hundred yards or less wide, they sheltered themselves behind trees, and so continued till the Indians retreated over a piece of cleared ground, carrying the dead Indian, and one who appeared to be wounded.

[Page 293.]

FORT HALIFAX, FEB. 16, 1758.

Lithgow writes Governor Shirley, requesting a guard may be sent for conducting the stores to the fort, about the time the river opens, about April 1.

EXTRACTS FROM VOLUME VIII., MILITARY.

1754, *April* 2. [Page 174.] In House of Representatives, ordered, that the Captain General be desired to send Mr. James Bean, of York, with two others, to discover whether the French are erecting a fort or garrison at the great carrying-place on the Kennebec River.

1754, *April*. [Page 177.] Whereas the fort at Richmond is in a very ruinous condition, and past repairs, and a more suitable place may be found farther up Kennebec River, whereon to erect a new one, and inasmuch as it is the earnest desire of both houses that his Excellency would take the trouble of a journey to the eastern parts of the province, to give directions concerning this fort, as well as other important matters. *Ordered*, that five hundred men, including officers, be enlisted to attend his Excellency's commands eastward.

1754, *April* 17. [Page 180.] At a meeting of the proprietors of the Kennebec purchase, from the late colony of New Plymouth, held by adjournment, *Voted*: Whereas the great and general assembly of the province of Massachusetts Bay have in their present session by their Majesty to his Excellency, William Shirley, Esq., governor of said province, desired him to order a new fort to be erected of about one hundred and twenty feet square, above Richmond fort on the Kennebec River, as far up as he shall think fit; and his said Excellency has signified to the proprietors, that in case we will, at our own expense, cause to be built at or near a place called Cushenoc upon said river, as he shall order, a house of hewn timber, not less than ten inches thick, one hundred feet long, thirty feet wide, and sixteen feet high, for the reception of said province stores, with conveniences for lodging the soldiers who may be placed there by the Government, and will picquet in the same, at thirty feet distance from every part of said house, and will

build a blockhouse twenty-four feet square at two of the opposite angles, and a sentry box at each of the other two angles, of twelve feet square, agreeably to a plan exhibited to us by the governor for that purpose, and furnish the same with four cannon, carrying ball of four pounds, his said Excellency having undertaken to protect the workmen who shall be employed in building said house, until the same shall be finished, he, the said governor, will give orders, as soon as may be, for the erecting of a new fort at the charge of the government, of the dimensions proposed by the General Assembly in their aforesaid message to him, above Taconnet Falls on the aforesaid river, for the protection of the settlements made, or which may be hereafter made upon the same, and in the adjacent country, and use his best efforts to cause the fort to be finished with the utmost expedition.

Now it is unanimously voted, that in consideration of the aforesaid assurance given to this proprietee by his said Excellency, we, the said proprietee, will cause a house to be built as above, and the committee, viz: Thomas Hancock, Esq., Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, Mr. William Bowdoin, and Mr. Benjamin Hallowell, are hereby desired to take care that the afore-mentioned house be built and piquetted in, and the blockhouses and sentry boxes built agreeable to the above, at the charge of this proprietee.

A true copy.

[Signed] DAVID JEFFRIES, *Prop. Clerk.*

1754, *April* 18. [Page 192.] The House of Representatives voted that 1s 6d be allowed for each man enlisted for the eastward.

1754, *July* 6. [Page 214.] An agreement by and between Governor Shirley and Isaac Islsly of Falmouth, carpenter, that said Islsly and twelve other persons, all carpenters, should proceede on the 9th inst., to Kennebec River, in a schooner or other vessel to be hired by the government,

and there continue for the space of two months to help build a fort designed to be erected at or near Taconnic Falls, or such place on or near said river as shall be judged most convenient by Major General Winslow; to be found food and drink, and conveyed back to Falmouth, their pay to commence the 8th of July, for himself and five apprentices nine pounds old tenor per day, and John Tomes at 45s per day. 28 Dec., 1754, is Islsly's receipt, £1,660 10s.

1754, *Nov.* 12. [Page 266.] Thirty men ordered to be enlisted or impressed in order to reinforce the garrison at Fort Halifax.

1754, *Nov.* 12. [Page 276.] In April and May £7,414 raised for the expedition to Kennebec was found insufficient, and it was ordered that £6,000 more be raised, and that the men engaged in said expedition be paid.

1754, *Dec.* 4. [Page 284.] General John Winslow's petition, representing that the men under his command in the late expedition to Kennebec wore out their knapsacks, blankets, and bonditures by transporting provisions in them, lying on the ground, &c., and the General Court ordered the commissary to replace them free of expense.

1754, *Dec.* 20. [Page 289.] Twenty cohorn mortars ordered to Fort Halifax.

FROM VOLUME XII., MILITARY.

1759, *June* 19. [Page 560.] Petition of William Martin and eleven others, soldiers at Fort Halifax, praying for a dismission. Represents that they were pressed into the service by Colonel Lithgow. That a vote was passed by the General Court giving a bounty of three dollars for one year, and five dollars for two years to any person who would enlist, and that but four men could be found to supply the place of the seventeen whose time had ex-

pired. Some of us have been here four, some three, and some two years.

1759, *Sept.* 26. [Page 576.] Colonel Lithgow acquaints the governor that the four province boats for transporting stores from Cushenoc to Fort Halifax are so decayed that they will not be serviceable another summer.

1759, *Nov.* 7. [Page 640.] Voted pay and subsistence for two sergeants, two corporals, one armorer, one drummer, and twenty-three privates at Fort Halifax, and for one lieutenant and nine privates at Cushenoc.

Voted that the Captain General give orders for discharging the sixteen men who have requested it, and that five dollars be given to three men each who shall enlist into the service. If they cannot be enlisted, to be impressed.

Colonel Lithgow is instructed to make discovery of military parties of the enemy as might attempt the destruction of the settlements. A suitable number of soldiers from Fort Halifax, with an officer to head them, be employed as scouts, and that such scouts be employed in scouting between Fort Halifax and Fort Pownal,* also if possible to find the connection between the Cobbaseconte ponds and the river which empties itself into the Kennebec, and that a plan of said river be made.

* There is a communication between Penobscot and Kennebec rivers with short portages from Fort Pownall and Fort Halifax, by a succession of ponds, and by Sebasticook River.—[Pownall's Topographical Description of British Provinces, p. 24.]

ARTICLE X.

THE PROPOSED PROVINCE OF
NEW IRELAND.

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, Esq.,

OF BELFAST.

NEW IRELAND.

At a recent meeting of the Society I communicated an extract from one of Knox's Extra Official State Papers relative to the proposed establishment, during the Revolution, of a new British Province in the eastern portion of our territory, to be colonized by American loyalists, and to be called New Ireland. The project originated in the year 1780. It was approved by the ministry, and sanctioned by the King. Bagaduce, now Castine, was to be the seat of the new government, and the plan was so far matured that the names of the principal officers were suggested. The position of governor was to be bestowed upon Thomas Oliver, a graduate of Harvard College in the year 1753, a man of wealth and of learning, and who had been a lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts. Daniel Leonard, a prominent loyalist, and afterwards Chief Justice of Bermuda, was named as Chief Justice. The project would undoubtedly have been carried into effect, but for the adverse views of the attorney-general of England, Mr. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, who entertained scruples about violating the sacredness of the charter rights of the province of the Massachusetts Bay, and argued that those rights extended the limits of the province to the River St. Croix, and that the eastern boundaries were not terminated at the Penobscot, as claimed by the ministry. It was the territory between the Penob-

scot and St. Croix which was to compose New Ireland. His opinion prevailed, but the plan of the new colony was not abandoned until the termination of the war. The opinion of the attorney general has never been published in this country, if in England. Measures for obtaining a copy from the State Paper Office in London have been undertaken, and it is hoped that the society may soon be placed in possession of so valuable a document.

Although the prospective erection of the new colony was a matter of great interest and importance at the time it was conceived, no mention of the fact is to be found in any American history. All the information which can be found is derived from a few English authorities. It may not be uninteresting to briefly refer to such authorities, as illustrating some of the reasons which suggested the idea of the new province, and as showing the exertions which were made to carry the idea into effect.

After the treaty of 1763, twelve townships were granted by Massachusetts on the eastern side of the Penobscot, and on the coast between that river and the St. Croix, but the undefined limits of the province of the Massachusetts Bay, springing from the unestablished bounds of Acadie, rendered the title to those grants doubtful, and the inhabitants in vain petitioned for a recognition or confirmation of their claims from the crown. The jurisdiction of Massachusetts east of the Penobscot was not acknowledged by the British government until peace was declared, and the renunciation of that territory was reluctantly inserted in the treaty of 1783. The owners and inhabitants of the townships extending along the coast from Bucksport to Addison sent an agent to Great Britain to procure an establishment of their rights. Dr. Franklin, at one time, while the agent of Massachusetts, represented them, and his correspondence concerning his efforts in their behalf is still extant. In June, 1779, a British force took possession of Bagaduce, which they fortified and improved to an

extent which indicated that their occupation of that part was designed to be permanent. The inhabitants of the eastern plantations generally remained loyal, and therefore were protected in their rights. They were assured that in reward for adhering to the crown their titles would be confirmed. After the failure of the American expedition sent to dislodge the enemy from Bagaduce, loyalists assembled there in great numbers, and it was soon after, probably in the year 1780, that the plan of rendering the district a fixed asylum for the proscribed citizens of the United States was projected. "Many of the refugees within the lines," wrote Lord George Germaine, the British Secretary of State, to Sir Henry Clinton, under date of February 7, 1781, in a despatch which was intercepted by the capture of a packet ship, and transmitted to Congress, "Many of the refugees, who are unfit for military service, are desirous of being settled in the country about Penobscot, and require only to be supplied with provisions for the first year, some tools for husbandry, and iron work for their buildings; and as it is proposed to settle that country, and this appears a cheap method of disposing of these loyalists, it is wished you would encourage them to go there under the protection of the associated refugees, and assure them that a civil government will follow them in due time." A pamphlet published in London, in 1781, entitled "The seige of Penobscot," the supposed author of which was Doctor John Calf, a refugee from Ipswich, Massachusetts, contains in what is denominated "a postscript, wherein a short account of the country of Penobscot is given," the following information concerning the proposed new colony. "Penobscot, sometimes called the territory of Sagadahock, lies in the eastern part of the province of Massachusetts Bay, having the province of Nova Scotia, (viz. Passamaquoddie,) for its eastern; the province of Maine, (viz. Kennebec River,) its western; Canada, its northern, and the ocean its southern bound-

“ary, and is nearly as large as the Kingdom of Ireland.”

“At the end of the last war, viz. in 1763, the General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay granted thirteen townships, each six miles square, lying on the east side of Penobscot river, to thirteen companies of proprietors who proceeded to lay out the said townships, and returned plans thereof to the General Assembly, which were approved and accepted. In consequence of this measure about sixty families settled on each township and made great improvements of the land. These settlers employed the then agent for said province at the Court of Great Britain, to solicit the royal approbation of those grants, and in the year 1773, as also in the last year, (1780,) they sent an agent expressly on their own account for the same purpose, and further to pray that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to sever that district from the province of Massachusetts Bay, and erect it into a government under the authority of the crown, which solicitation has hitherto, however, been without effect. The inhabitants of this country are in general loyal, except those of the township of Machias, who have at that place a small fort under the direction of Congress, and about one hundred and thirty-five Indian warriors of the Machias tribe in their interest; all the other tribes of northern Indians are in the King’s peace.

“The soil of this country is good, and well adapted to the cultivation of every sort of English grain, as well as hemp, flax, &c., but it is more especially proper for grazing, (in which it excels every part of America,) and for breeding cattle, sheep, swine and horses. Its woods abound with moose and other kinds of deer; beaver, and several kinds of game good for food. A few miles from the sea coast are large tracts of land covered with pine trees suitable for masts of the largest size, for which

"article Britain has been obliged to northern powers, Russia, in particular. . . .

"To this new country the loyalists resort with their families (last summer, particularly, a great number of families were preparing to remove thither) from the other New England provinces, and find an asylum from the tyranny of Congress and their tax-gatherers, as well as daily employment in fishing, lumbering, clearing, and preparing land for their subsistence, and there they continue in full hope and pleasing expectation, that they may soon re-enjoy the liberties and privileges which would be best secured to them by laws, and under a form of government modelled after the British Constitution; and that they may be covered in their possession, agreeably to the petition to the throne in 1773, which was renewed last year.

"Should this district be severed from the province of Massachusetts Bay, and erected into a province under the authority of the crown, and the inhabitants quieted in their possessions, it would be settled with amazing rapidity, and the Royal Navy, West India Islands and other parts of his Majesty's dominions well and plentifully served for centuries to come from this district with the articles above mentioned, without being obliged to other powers for the same, and the profits of the whole would fall into the lap of Great Britain, in return for her manufactures."

Some of the catalogues of books relating to America refer to a pamphlet which would be extremely interesting in throwing more light on this matter. The pamphlet contains about seventy pages, and is entitled "Considerations on the Sovereignty, Independence, Trade and Fisheries of New Ireland." The author is supposed to have been a Colonel McNutt, "who was in Salem just before the Revolution." It has been found impossible to

procure this pamphlet, but it is hoped that the mention of its existence may be the means of securing a copy for the Society, as well as of inducing more research and inquiry concerning the project of New Ireland on the part of persons whose opportunities for investigating the matter are not so restricted as those of the writer of this article.

ARTICLE XI.

SLAVERY IN MAINE.

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, Esq.,

OF BELFAST.

SLAVERY IN MAINE.

IN the momentous crisis through which our country is now passing,* when a severe if not an annihilating blow is being aimed at an institution coeval with our earliest settlement, and which once obtained throughout our whole territory, it may be not inappropriate or uninteresting to review briefly the existence, progress and extinction of that institution in our own State.

To England, more than to any other nation, belongs the unenviable celebrity of establishing modern slave trade. Introduced by Sir John Hawkins in 1562, and immediately receiving the sanction and protection of Queen Elizabeth, it soon became one of the most lucrative sources of national wealth. For nearly two centuries the highest officials in both church and state did not hesitate to lend to it their approval, and even to participate in its profits. The first adventurers to our coast were not exempt from this depraved condition of public sentiment, and George Weymouth, although he failed to designate satisfactorily which river in Maine he explored in 1605, yet by the forcible abduction of five natives of our shores, he has left conclusive evidence that man stealing was not regarded criminal by his companions or by himself. And although two of the unfortunate

* This paper was presented at the winter session, Augusta, January, 1864.

captives were subsequently restored to their homes by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, it does not appear that they were returned by virtue of any writ of *habeas corpus*, or under any extradition act. Captain Harlowe, master of ordnance in the Popham expedition in 1611, in the course of a voyage to Monhegan, kidnapped several Indians, whom he carried to England. Captain John Smith, however, who visited America three years afterwards, seems to have entertained more humane sentiments than his predecessors, for he condemns the unauthorized conduct of Thomas Hunt, his ship master, who in the absence of the "Admirall, "betrayed foure and twenty of these poore Salvages "aboored his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly "for their kind vsage of me and all our men, carried them "with him to Maligo, and there for a little private gaine "sold those silly Salvages for rials of eight; but this ville "act kept him ever after from any more imploiment to "those partes." These three instances are believed to have been the only acts of man stealing in New England until permanent settlements were made.

There is no direct evidence that slavery was at first permitted in the Plymouth Colony, but it was early and distinctly recognized by the colonists of the Massachusetts Bay, and for nearly a century and a half slaves were openly imported, owned, and sold there. In 1639 the Salem ship *Desire* brought to Boston a cargo of cotton, tobacco, and negroes from Tortugas, and two years after Samuel Maverick, "than whom" the learned editor of Winthrop's Journal says "no man seems better entitled by "his deeds to the character of a Christian," held and desired to breed slaves on Noddle's Island, now East Boston. By an ordinance of 1641, it was ordered that "there be no bond slavery, villenage or captivity amongst "us, with the exception of lawful captives taken in just "wars, or those judicially sentenced to servitude as a "punishment." The pious Governor Winthrop, by his will

dated April 25th of that year, enumerates among bequests to his son all his Indians on his island called Governor's Island. In 1646, "the General Court, conceiving themselves "bound to bear witness against the heinous and crying sin "of man stealing," ordered that certain negroes, imported by Captain Smith be sent back to their native country, (Guinea,) at the charge of the colony, with a letter from the Governor expressive of the indignation of the court thereabouts. "But notwithstanding these strong expressions in the acts of the Colonial government," remarks Chief Justice Shaw, "slavery to a certain extent seems to "have crept in; not probably by force of any law, for none "such is found or known to exist; but rather, it may be "presumed, from that universal custom, prevailing through "the European colonies, in the West Indies, and on the "continent of America, and which was fostered and "encouraged by the commercial policy of the parent states." So far as our own State is concerned, no laws or ordinances relating to slavery are to be found among the records of the province while governed by the Gorges charter, and no further enactment appears on the Massachusetts Statute Book until 1705. Before that year, in 1677, by the purchase of Maine by Massachusetts, our people became a part of that Colony, and in 1691, by the charter of William and Mary, a complete consolidation was effected. From 1677, therefore, down to the separation, our laws, legal usages and measures of government were those also of Massachusetts. It may be reasonably inferred that slavery was introduced with those legal usages, if it had obtained no foothold before. The enactment by Massachusetts in 1705, to which allusion was made, distinctly countenanced the institution, regardless of a vote passed by the inhabitants of Boston four years before, desiring their representatives "to promote means for putting a period to "negroes being slaves," and levied a duty of £4 upon each negro imported, with a drawback upon any one for whom

the duty had been paid, if such negro was exported within the space of twelve months, and sold *bona fide* in any other plantation.

The treaty of Utrecht was made in 1713. By its provisions England formally sanctioned the slave trade in reserving to herself the exclusive right of importing negroes into Spanish America, and became the largest trafficker in human flesh in the world. How well her monopoly was rendered available, may be learned from the estimate made by Bancroft that "English ships, fitted out in English cities, under the special favor of the royal family, of the ministry, and of parliament, stole from Africa, in the years from 1700 to 1750, probably a million and a half of human beings, of whom one-eighth were buried in the Atlantic, victims of the passage." "The slave trade," he continues, "possessed paramount attractions. Not a statesman exposed its enormities; and, if Richard Baxter echoed the opinions of Puritan Massachusetts, if Southern drew tears by the tragic tale of Oronooko, if Steele awakened a throb of indignation by the story of Inkle and Yarico, if Savage and Shenstone pointed their feeble couplets with the wrongs of Africa's sable children, yet no public opinion lifted its voice against it." For fifty years after, the traffic in slaves appears to have been an extensive and lucrative one in Boston. At first, dealers had no hesitation in advertising them for sale in their own names, but at length the advertisers would simply refer purchasers "to the printer for further particulars." Advertisements of lost and runaway slaves are common in all the Boston newspapers, from 1727 to 1781. The following is a specimen of one of the earliest of these advertisements, contained in the Boston News Letter of April 1, 1728; "Mr. Henry Richards wants to sell a parcel of likely negro boys and one girl, brought from Guinea." And again, "Two very likely negro girls for sale, also woman's stays, children's good callamanco stifined boddy'd coats,

"and children's stays of all sorts, and woman's hoop-coats, "all at reasonable rates." The last advertisements of slaves which appeared in Boston newspapers are published in the Boston Gazette of December 10, 1781. "To be "sold, very reasonably, a likely negro woman, about "thirty-three or thirty-four years of age." "To be sold, or "hired for a number of years, a strong, healthy, honest "negro girl, about sixteen years of age." Dr. Belknap, writing in 1795 to Judge Tucker, in answer to his inquiries about slavery, says: "I cannot find that more than three "ships in a year belonging to Boston, were ever employed "in the African trade. The rum distilled here was the "mainspring of the traffic. Very few whole cargoes ever "came to this port. One gentleman says he remembers "two or three." Dr. Belknap mentions one cargo which he recollected of arriving between 1755 and 1765, consisting almost wholly of children.

During this period, Boston, as at the present time, was the metropolis and commercial centre of New England. To a certain extent her customs and usages were followed by the smaller towns. How far they had penetrated the wilds of Maine, or in what degree the institution of slavery had become engrafted upon our scattered settlements, little exists to show. The firm of William Pepperrells held slaves at Kittery Point, for many years. "On one occasion," to quote from the life of Sir William Pepperrell, "Benjamin "Bullard, a merchant of Antigua, shipped to Kittery Point "five negroes, consigned to the firm of Pepperrells. He "received the following answer, dated June 25, 1719: "Sir:—I received yours by Captain Morris, with bills of "lading for five negroes, and one hogshead of rum. One "negro woman, marked Y. on the left breast, died in about "three weeks after her arrival, in spite of medical aid "which I procured. All the rest died at sea. I am sorry "for your loss. It may have resulted from deficient "clothing so early in the spring." "But with all their

"vastly extended and diversified commerce and navigation," says the biographer, "it should be mentioned to the credit of the Pepperrell firm, that they never imported slaves from Africa. Like all persons of their day who possessed the means, they owned a few slaves, probably ten or a dozen, whom they purchased in the vicinity." In the baronial style in which Sir William lived after the conquest of Louisburgh, he maintained "a splendid barge, with a black crew dressed in uniform." By his will, dated in January, 1759, six months before his death, among other bequests to Lady Pepperrell, are included four negroes.

In so important a town as Falmouth, slavery of course obtained an early foothold. Mr. Willis estimates the number of inhabitants of the several districts of that town in 1749, embracing Cape Elizabeth, New Casco, Stroudwater, Back Cove and Neck, now Portland, at 2,367, of whom twenty-one were slaves, principally owned on the Neck. Rev. Thomas Smith's Journal records under date of July 30, 1760, "Colonel Cushing has lost his sloop and negroes; taken by French ships." In the midst of a system in favor of which Whitefield did not hesitate to plead, and which the pious Moravians thought advantageous, "if the slaves were treated in a Christian spirit," Mr. Smith had no conscientious scruples about holding in bondage his fellow men, as appears from a note in connection with an entry in his journal under date of February 10, 1776. By a statement written by him, he appears to have offered £700, old tenor, for "a negro man and a likely young negro woman."

In 1764, according to a memorandum in the handwriting of Judge Sewall, the town of York contained 2,242 white inhabitants, and fifty-six negroes, seventeen of whom were under the age of sixteen. York, Kittery, Wells, Arundel and Pepperrellboro', (now Saco,) had an aggregate population of 9,986, of whom two hundred and three were blacks. Falmouth contained 3,770 whites and forty-four negroes,

and Pownalboro' had nine negroes out of eight hundred and eighty-nine inhabitants. The whole population of Maine, in 1764, was 23,686 white persons, and three hundred and thirty-two blacks. How many of the latter were slaves cannot be ascertained. Rev. Jacob Bailey mentions a slave held in Pownalboro', by Major Samuel Goodwin, in 1774. Further east than Pownalboro' the existence of the institution cannot be traced. Slaves were not usually found away from maritime towns, as farmers preferred white laborers to black.

The inquiry naturally suggests itself, what was the condition of slaves in Maine and in Massachusetts, and how did the system become extinct. At first their treatment was harsh, but during the last years the institution existed, they suffered no greater hardships than hired servants. They were admitted as church members. They could hold property, both real and personal. They testified in courts of justice. Their family relations were seldom disturbed, although one advertisement in a Boston newspaper offers for sale, together or separately, a slave mother and her child six months old, and although small negro children when weaned, were sometimes given away like puppies, as an incumbrance. "The slave was the absolute "property of his master," says Chief Justice Parsons, "subject to his orders, and to reasonable correction for "misbehavior, was transferrable like a chattel by gift or "sale, and was assets in the hands of his executor or "administrator. If the master was guilty of a cruel or "unreasonable castigation of his slave, he was liable to be "punished for the breach of the peace, and the slave was "allowed to demand sureties of the peace against a violent "and barbarous master, which generally caused a sale to "another master. And the children of the female slave, "according to the maxim of the civil law, were the property "of her master."

The first decisive movement for the abolition of slavery

in Massachusetts was made in 1773. In that year the negroes, emboldened by the glimmerings of independence, presented a petition for their freedom to the General Court. It was referred, and the next year a bill was passed to prevent the importation of slaves. Governor Hutchinson declined giving to it his signature, for the reason that he had no authority to sanction such a measure. To the last, Great Britain continued to resist every colonial limitation of the slave trade, with the same firmness with which she opposed our efforts at independence. "We cannot allow," wrote the Earl of Dartmouth to an agent in America, in 1776, "we cannot allow the colonists to check or discourage "a traffic so beneficial to the nation." The passage of the bill in 1774, was an express declaration of public opinion, and prepared the way six years afterwards for inserting in the constitution of the Commonwealth, that important provision that all men were born free and equal. In the first case involving the right of the master to his slave, which was adjudicated by the Supreme Court of the new Commonwealth, the judges decided that by virtue of the clause referred to, the slave no longer owed any service, and slavery from that time henceforth, and it is to be hoped forever ceased to have a legal existence in Massachusetts or in Maine.

ARTICLE XII.

CONDITION OF THE
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS
OF MAINE,
AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION.

COPIED FROM PAPERS OF HON. WM. D. WILLIAMSON,

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, Esq.,

OF BELFAST.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

WHEN the Revolution terminated, Maine contained forty-one incorporated towns, and in 1784, the year after the ratification of peace, there were in them thirty-one resident located ministers of the Congregational and Presbyterian orders, including three installed that year. To this period a remarkable unanimity prevailed among the people about their religious sentiments. There was a single society of German Lutherans, at Waldoboro', that had existed for over forty years. Its minister, for nearly a quarter of a century, was the excellent Mr. Schaeffer, from Germany. There were then no Catholics in Maine, except the Romish missionaries and their Indian converts.

The thirty-one Congregational and Presbyterian ministers settled in our State in 1784, were as follows :

Thomas Brown,	Westbrook,
Ephraim Clark,	Cape Elizabeth,
Paul Coffin,	Buxton,
Samuel Deane,	Portland,
Ezekiel Emerson,	Georgetown,
Samuel Eaton,	Harpswell,
John Fairfield,	Saco,
William Fessenden,	Fryeburg,
Isaac Hovey,	Lebanon,
Moses Hemmenway,	Wells,

Samuel Foxcroft,	New Gloucester,
Tristram Gilman,	North Yarmouth,
Thomas Lancaster,	Scarborough,
Samuel Langdon,	York,
Joseph Litchfield,	Kittery,
Daniel Little,	Kennebunk,
Isaac Lyman,	York,
James Lyon,	Machias,
John Miller,	Brunswick,
Matthew Merriam,	Berwick,
Silas Moody,	Kennebunkport,
Thomas Moore,	Wiscasset,
Peter T. Smith,	Windham,
Thomas Smith,	Portland,
Alpheus Spring,	Kittery,
Benjamin Stevens,	Kittery,
John Thompson,	Berwick,
Nathaniel Webster,	Biddeford,
Ebenezer Williams,	Falmouth,
Josiah Winship,	Woolwich,
Francis Winter,	Bath.

Although there were many Episcopalians among the early settlers, and the inhabitants about Casco Bay, in the days of the Rev. Mr. Gibson, and of Mr. Jordan, the sect did not sustain itself after the province was adopted by Massachusetts; nor did it revive until 1763, when awakened by the dissatisfaction felt and manifested in the settlement of Mr. Deane, as colleague with Mr. Smith of Portland. The result was the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Wiswell.

Of Friends, or Quakers, it is recorded that three of that denomination of Christians, being females, driven by the hand of persecution from New Hampshire, held an exhortative meeting at New-ichawannock, (South Berwick,) and then retired to Boston. No more is heard of them in

Maine for sixty-eight years. The sect re-appeared at Elliot, (Sturgeon Creek,) in October, 1730, where a few Quaker families were residents, and where religious worship was *first* established.

The second society of Friends was formed in 1740, at Falmouth. The increase of this people caused much anxiety among the Congregationalists. Under date of July 30th of that year, the Rev. Mr. Smith records in his diary, that "the church kept a day of fasting and prayer "on account of the spread of Quakerism. Mr. Jefferds "and myself prayed, and Mr. Thompson preached in the "forenoon, and Mr. Allen and Mr. Lord prayed, and Mr. "Willard preached in the afternoon." When their worship was established, July 22d, 1743, he says, "many strange "Quakers in town." The third society was formed at South Berwick, in 1742, by John Churchman, a celebrated preacher of his order, from Pennsylvania, who visited this section of country that year. Seven years afterwards, a meeting-house was erected and worship became constant. In 1751, a fourth society was established in that part of original North Yarmouth, which is now Harpswell. For about twenty years a monthly meeting was alternately held there and at Portland. It was afterwards discontinued at the former place, and transferred to Durham. The fifth society was established in 1779, at Windham, and the sixth, in 1780. Mr. Smith's diary states, February 14th, 1782, "the people are in a sad tumult about Quaker "meetings, ministers and taxes." It appears that the whole number of societies at the close of the Revolution was only six, comprising probably not over a thousand members.

The *Baptists*, in 1783, were more numerous. Their first appearance in Maine was at Kittery, in 1681, when several individuals were baptized, and on the 25th of September, in the following year, they were embodied into a church. Elder William Screven was their minister. Persecuted as

they were, another year witnessed their effectual removal or dispersion, and nothing more is heard of this sect in Maine for eighty-three or eighty-four years. In 1767, however, several of the denomination resident at Blackberry Hill, in Berwick, avowed their religious sentiments, and the next year formed a church. The next and first one after the preceding was the only one now extant. Their pastors were, first, Elder Joseph Emery, and second, Elder William Hooper. The second Baptist church was formed at Sanford, in September 1772. Elder Gideon Cook and Elder Pelatiah Tingley were the first pastors. The third Baptist church and society were gathered in 1780, in the northerly part of Wells. Their first minister was Elder Nathaniel Lord, and their second, Elder Joseph Eaton. The fourth church was established at Shapleigh, in 1781. Elders Nehemiah Davis and William Goding being successively pastors; the fifth at Lyman, (Coxall,) in 1782, Elder Simon Locke, pastor; the sixth at Thomaston, in 1784, and the seventh at Bowdoinham, the same year, under the charge of Elder Job Macomber.

But these were all Calvinistic Baptists, of "close communion." A few, in 1780, the earliest in New England, dissented from them, espoused the faith of *Freewill* believers, and Elder Benjamin Randall, of New Durham, New Hampshire, first openly preached the doctrine that year. His original and immediate coadjutor was the Rev. Pelatiah Tingley, already a Calvinistic Baptist pastor of the Sanford church. The doctrine was embraced in different places with surprising avidity, so that in the course of the succeeding year, through the efforts of these two elders, there were churches established in Woolwich, Georgetown, Hollis, Edgecomb, New Gloucester and Parsonfield, each constituted of "Freewill Baptists." Quarterly meetings were appointed to be holden as early as 1783, and the denomination, which had been greatly

enlarging itself every year, became permanently established about that time. But yet the names of their ministers do not immediately appear. At first they were exhortative preachers, more distinguished for their enthusiastic fervor and feeling, than for their learning and orthodoxy.

At this period, therefore, there were but few Baptist ministers of note. A few sketches of their respective characters may fit this place.

Elder William Screven was born in England, in 1629. He came to this country, probably when about thirty-six years old, and married Bridget Cutts of Kittery, the sister of Richard Cutts. The Baptists, or as they were then termed *Ana-Baptists*, were well established in Massachusetts, although a penal law against them had been enacted as early as 1646. Mr. Screven chose Kittery as a place of more security against persecution. When the Provincial administration of Maine was about to be organized, he became bold and zealous in his sentiments. His natural talents were of a high order. He was possessed of a lively imagination, and his piety was sincere. A good English scholar, his manners and address were exceedingly prepossessing. As a Baptist church existed in Boston, formed in 1665, his brethren at Kittery, by Isaac Hull and John Farnum, in their behalf, gave him a letter to the Boston church in these words:—"To all whom it may concern: These are to certify that our beloved brother, "William Screven, is a member in communion with us, "and having had trial of his gifts among us, and "finding him to be a man whom God hath qualified and "furnished with the gifts of his Holy Spirit and Grace, "enabling him to open and apply the word of God, through "the blessings of the Lord Jesus, to the building up of "souls in the knowledge of Him, we do therefore appoint, "approve and encourage him to exercise his gifts in the "place where he lives, or elsewhere, as the Providence of

"God may cast him; and so the Lord help him to urge his "glory in all things, and to walk humbly in the fear of His "name."

Elder Isaac Backus, in his History of the Baptist Church, says when the ministers and magistrates of the place were made acquainted with these proceedings, they summoned the believers before them, and threatened punishment, if more meetings were held. On the seventeenth of August, 1682, the Provincial Assembly of Maine summoned Mr. Screven before them, and after investigating the charges raised, awarded sentence, "that he should not, on any "pretence whatever, have any private religious exercise at "his own house, or elsewhere, on the Sabbath, and that he "pay a fine of ten pounds for preceding offences." He was then tendered liberty to return to his family, in case he would amend his ways. But he refused, and was thereupon ordered to recognize for future good behavior, and to stand committed until the order of court was performed. It is believed that this is the only record of a prosecution in Maine on account of religion, and it is to be regretted that our annals have even this single stain.

A church was nevertheless established, and the covenant signed, September 25, 1682, by Elder Screven, Richard Cutts, six other men, and several women, and the ordinances administered, Mr. Screven being the under shepherd of the flock. But foreseeing no certain relief from these persecutions, and convinced that religious liberty could be elsewhere enjoyed, he chose as the wiser alternative, to remove, rather than to contend. Therefore, in the summer of 1683, he and a number of his church took a water passage to South Carolina, and settled on Cooper river, near the present site of Charleston. He was subsequently requested to accept the pastoral charge of the Baptist church and society in Boston, but finding himself happily situated in a flourishing community, he declined the invitation. He lived there thirty years after his removal.

His death occurred in 1713, at the age of eighty-three. He was exceedingly beloved as a zealous Christian, and esteemed as a talented preacher. He had a family of eleven children. His son William, who remained at Kittery, represented that town in the General Court of 1694.

Elder Pelatiah Tingley, a graduate of Yale College, in the class of 1761, was the first minister of the Calvinistic Baptist church in Sanford, taking its pastoral charge within two years after its formation in 1772. He was an evangelical preacher, and a good man, fond of innovation, and perhaps too much given to change. He was among the first to preach the "Freewill" doctrine adopted in 1780, and continued in that faith, as is believed, until the last. He remained at Sanford until 1782. Elder Zebadiah Richardson preached there three years after Elder Tingley. Elder Otis Robinson, ordained in 1798, succeeded him.

Elder Joseph Emery was the first ordained Baptist minister of Berwick. It is believed that he was settled about 1780, and remained five years. He was succeeded in 1785 by Elder William Hooper. His successor, Elder Nathaniel Lord, was the first ordained Baptist minister of Wells. He was settled about three years after the establishment of the church there in 1780.

Elder Nehemiah Davis was settled over the second or eastern Baptist society of Shapleigh, about 1790.

The first Baptist minister in Lyman was Elder Simon Locke. He was settled about 1785, and for a long time was pastor. He also partook, once, at least, of the wild olive, for in 1808 he consented to leave his flock in the wilderness to serve as representative at the General Court.

Isaac Case, first elder of the Baptist church at Thomaston, commenced his ministry there about 1785, and after eight years, went to Winthrop. He was the father of the Honorable Isaac Case, a physician at Hampden and Levant, and a senator in the Maine Legislature. Elder

Elisha Snow succeeded him. He died in the ministry, a very old man. I have heard him preach. He was unquestionably pious, sound in faith and in doctrine. Old fashioned in style, he was learned only in the Scriptures and in the knowledge of God. He used no notes, spoke with a loud voice, and his discourse abounded with more words than matter. His peculiarities of zeal and manner were neither few nor common.

Elder Job Macomber was the first ordained elder of the Baptist church in Bowdoinham. He was settled about 1784, and maintained his pastoral relation for thirty-four years. He was assisted and succeeded by the Rev. Daniel Pierson.

Of these fifteen Baptist elders, including Mr. Screven, it is believed that only one or two received a collegiate education. The public mind was undergoing a memorable change as to ministerial qualifications. More was thought of ready gifts and fervent feeling, and less of sound learning than in the preceding age. Many believed that it was not apostolic for ministers to have salaries settled upon them, to preach for stipulated wages, to appear as hirelings. Such, numbers supposed, carried the appearance of caring rather for the fleece than for the flock. As those sentiments accorded with the poverty which resulted from the war, and as the Congregational ministers had perhaps in some measure abated in their studies, their fervor and their efforts, it was not strange that a new sect should increase at that period. The habit of preaching without notes, which the Baptist elders had, rendered them exceedingly popular. Indeed, it became a proverb with them, that "reading is not preaching." But although they and their adherents long held literature almost in contempt, for the last thirty years their taste for letters has been reviving.

The Methodists, as a sect of Christians, did not appear in Maine until seven years after the declaration of peace. In 1784 the celebrated John Wesley addressed a letter from

Bristol, England, to his American brethren, in which he states as follows:

"By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from the British Empire, and erected into independent states. The English government has no more control over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, than over the States of Holland. In England there are bishops, who have a legal jurisdiction; in America there are none, and but few parish ministers, so that for some hundreds of miles together, there are none either to baptize, or administer the Lord's supper. I have accordingly appointed Dr. Cooke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents over our brethren in North America." With this address Doctor Cooke came over, and summoned a General Conference at Baltimore, in December of the same year. The "Methodist Episcopal Church," and a platform of "Discipline" were fully established, and Mr. Asbury formally elected and ordained bishop, the first of the denomination in this country.

In 1790, Elder Jesse Lee of Prince George County, Virginia, the Methodist apostle of New England, first appeared at Boston, Lynn, and Newburyport. Under the auspices of the first conference, which convened at Lynn, he visited Maine the same year. He preached in Saco, September 10th, and extended his circuit through Castine, Bangor, Hallowell, Portland, and the settlements on Sandy River. On a review of his travels, and the acceptability which his doctrine received in different places, he established the "Readfield Circuit," a vineyard in which the first spiritual laborer was Elder Philip Wager. At that time the "Boston District" embraced the whole of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, presided over by Elder Lee. The second district was "Portland Circuit," in which an Elder was appointed to travel, and Enoch Mudge and Elias Hull were assigned to Readfield. In

1795, the Penobscot circuit, being the third one in the district, was formed through the exertions of the Rev. Joshua Hall from the New London Conference. Two years afterward, Maine of itself became a district, in which Joshua Taylor was Presiding Elder.

Several of the earlier Methodist elders have been ministers and men of considerable distinction. Elder Lee was indefatigable in his efforts. In 1809 he published a "Short History of the Methodists" in the United States. According to his statements, between the years 1769 and 1806, inclusive, there had been in full connection, nine hundred and eighty-eight travelling preachers. Of these, eight of the immigrants from England had returned; eighty-five had died in the work; twenty-eight had left in good standing, seventeen had been expelled; five hundred and thirty-three, after travelling, had located themselves, and the remainder were then preaching on the circuits.

Elder Lee was endowed with good natural abilities. Easy of access, and affable in his manners, he was well fitted by gifts and graces for his position.

Elder Enoch Mudge was among the first subjects of conversion under the itinerant preaching of the Rev. Mr. Lee at Lynn. In 1795, he commenced his ministerial labors in Maine at Readfield and its vicinity. About ten years afterward he became located in Orrington. There he preached for over eleven years. In 1811, 1814, and 1816, the town returned him their Representative to the General Court. Before the separation he returned to Lynn, where he continued in the ministry for several years. His natural abilities were such, that, although having had but a common education, he became an excellent and acceptable preacher. His style was good, his voice pleasant, his manner prepossessing, and his discourses instructive. In stature he was short and stout. He had a fair countenance, and thick lips. I have listened to his sermons with pleasure and profit.

Elder Joshua Hall settled in Frankfort in 1795. He was then a young man. He proved both a popular preacher and a popular politician. In 1814 he represented his adopted town in the Legislature and was subsequently chosen to the same trust. In 1830 he was a member of the Senate of Maine. After many trials for the Presidency of that body, he was selected, and held the position of Governor for a few days before Governor Hunton was qualified. He was a man of gifts, of character and of piety; but he could pray much better than he could debate. He appeared to more advantage in a conference room than in a deliberative assembly. He was the pioneer of Methodism in eastern Maine.

ARTICLE XIII.

NOTICES OF THE

POWELL FAMILY,

AND

EXTRACTS FROM MANUSCRIPTS OF T. D. POWELL.

GIVEN TO ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY, 1848, BY THE NEPHEW OF
MRS. POWELL,—JOHN BROMFIELD, ESQ., OF BOSTON,
AND COPIED BY HER FOR THE MAINE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1869.

5 PARK STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

THE POWELL FAMILY.

JEREMIAH DUMMER POWELL, who owned lands at North Yarmouth, Maine, in the last century, which he inherited from his father, John Powell, was born June 3d, 1720. His mother, Ann Dummer Powell, was sister to Lieutenant Governor Dummer, and the celebrated Jeremiah Dummer, agent for Massachusetts at the Court of Queen Anne. John Powell was Secretary to Lieutenant Governor Dummer.

Copy of a memorandum in the handwriting of Jeremiah Dummer Powell.

"I received a Commission as Justice of the Peace for
"the County of York, from Governor Shirley, dated
"August, 1744. 1745.—I went Representative from North
"Yarmouth, and served the town as Representative about
"16 or 17 years, between 1745 & 1766. I was then chosen
"into the Council.

"1762.—I was appointed Lieutenant Colonel under
"Colonel Waldo.

"1763.—I was appointed First Justice of the Court of
"Common Pleas in Cumberland County.

"1767.—I was appointed Justice through the Province.

"The three last Commissions were under Governor
"Bernard.

"My father, John Powell, died October 1, 1742. I lived

“with him at North Yarmouth, and after his death I took
“his eastern lands, and lived at North Yarmouth.

“I married Sarah Bromfield September 15, 1768, and
“now live with her at North Yarmouth.

“JEREMIAH POWELL.

“OCTOBER 11, 1769.”

The elder sons of John Powell,* were John Powell, who married Miss Tallmadge of Connecticut. He left Boston in 1776, with the loyalists, went to England and never returned. His son, William Dummer Powell, was educated in Massachusetts and married an Englishwoman, a Miss Murray, who was on a visit to Boston, they went to England, and resided there until he received the appointment of Chief Justice of Upper Canada in 1785, when they returned to America, accompanied by his sister, Ann Powell, whose Journal describing their passage and journey from Montreal to Detroit is a very interesting narrative.† Miss Powell was a very accomplished woman. She married Mr. Clarke, a brother of Mrs. J. S. Copley, (and an uncle of Lord Lyndhurst,) and died early in life deeply regretted by her friends.

William D. Powell, the son of John Powell, resided in Boston; he married Mary Bromfield,‡ sister of the wife of his brother, Jeremiah D. Powell, and of Abigail Bromfield who married William Phillips, and whose daughter, Abigail Phillips, married in 1769, Josiah Quincy, jun., of

* The Secretary of Lieutenant Governor Dummer.

† Chief Justice Powell died at Toronto, Upper Canada, 1834, aged 79. His widow died in 1849, aged 94.

‡ Their daughter, Susan Powell, married Honorable Jonathan Mason of Boston, and Anna Powell, Thomas Perkins, Esq. Their descendents are numerous, portraits of Governor and of Jeremiah Dummer are in their possession. They are fine portraits, probably by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Boston,* an eminent orator and patriot, who died on his return from England, in 1775, April 26, aged 31 years.

Some short memorandums remain among Mr. Powell's manuscripts of journey, expenses, &c. The following extract gives an idea of the modes of travelling in 1770, a contrast to the railroad speed of 1869:—

"September 27, 1770.—Set out for Boston by land. My "sister Susan, and my wife's sister, Betsey Bromfield, in "my chaise,† with my boy Boston to drive them. Mrs. "Powell and I in Dr. Russell's chaise, I hired for the journey. We put up at Patten's in Kennebunk; a fine day.

"Friday, September 28.—On our journey. Put up at "Dr. Cutter's at Portsmouth, sent my boy and horses to a "tavern.

"Saturday, September 29.—A fine day. Set out on our "journey, went to Exeter and heard Mr. Whitfield preach, "and dined at Col. Gilman's, and then set out and got to "Brother Bromfield's at Newburyport, and put up to keep "Sabbath.

"Sabbath Day, September 30.—A fine day. Mr. Whitfield died this morning at six o'clock, very sudden, at Mr. "Parsons'. He went to bed well, after supper, and "pleasant all the evening. We all went to see him, just at "night. He was to have preached to-day for Mr. Parsons. "We all hands heard Mr. Cary in the morning, and Mr. "Marsh in the afternoon.

"Monday, October 1.—A fine day. I set out for Boston "with sister Susan, ‡ and put up at Porter's at Windham.

* The late Josiah Quincy of Boston, President of Harvard, who died in 1864, aged 92 years, was their son.

† These chaises had a small seat for the driver, usually a boy, placed low down in front of the vehicle, very near the horse.

‡ Susan Powell married Symmes, and resided at Andover.

"I left Mrs. Powell and her sister Betsy not well, at their brother's, John Bromfield, with my boy and chaise.

"Tuesday, October 2.—A raw, cold day. Sister Susan and I got to Madam Foxcroft's* at Cambridge, by $\frac{1}{2}$ past one o'clock to dinner. The General Court sitting, and we got to Boston by dark.

"Tuesday, October 9.—Mrs Powell and sister, and my boy Boston, got to Boston well; their brother, John Bromfield, came with them.

"Thursday, October 11.—My boy Boston, the old horse, and Dr. Russell's chaise, sailed for North Yarmouth in Sweetser's. A fine wind.†

"Tuesday, October 30.—My poor boy Boston, died with a nervous fever, after a few days' sickness, aged 15 years, a great loss—a fine boy. ‡

"Monday, November 5.—I got home, found Boston dead and buried, and Dinah sick. I left Mrs. Powell in Boston, I am all alone.

"November 28, 1770, Wednesday.—A right down winter snowstorm all day, the first this fall, and after a fine warm spell for 10 or 12 days. I this day, for the first time, put up all my cattle in the barn, excepting my oxen and milch cows we have tied up some nights past.

"Thursday, December 6, 1770.—A pleasant day for the season. Thanksgiving Day. Mr. Gilman don't shine on

* Mrs. Foxcroft of Cambridge was the aunt of Mrs. Powell, sister of her mother, Mrs. E. Bromfield; they were daughters of J. Coney, a merchant of Boston.

The house of Mr. Foxcroft is yet standing, a fine old mansion on the road to Mount Auburn, now, 1869, the property of the family of the late William Wells of Boston.

† These were merely occasional memorandums, many days often passed between the dates.

‡ The boy Boston was undoubtedly a slave, but seems to have been kindly and affectionately treated and remembered.

"these occasions in his performances. I din'd at Mrs. Richmond Loring's, with Mrs. Gilman and Madam Loring. I am alone except my servants, Mrs. Powell in Boston. Mr. Shaw and wife and family dined with my people.

"Friday, December 21.—A rainy day. Coz. Greely got in from Boston, brought me letters &c., from Boston. My wife there. I purpose to go up in a short time.

"Sabbath Day, December 23.—A fine morning, but a raw, cold day, and the roads slippery and full of ice.

"Colonel Bayley, Captain Little, and Dr. Calef of Ipswich at meeting. Got to town last evening. The new preacher, Mr. Cheever, got to town last night to preach at Harisicklés.

"Tuesday, December 25, 1770.—A very cold night and day, the first this season. A cold Christmas, but pleasant and clear.

"Company dined with me, Mr. Gilman, Madam Loring, Deacon Mitchell, and Mrs. Polly White, Justice Mitchell and Lady, Uncle John Loring and Lady, Mr. Richmond Loring and Lady. Captain Eben Gray got home last night, been gone these six months or more.

"Sabbath Day, December 30.—A very fine, pleasant day, not cold. Mr. Gilman, I think, preached two serious, good, and sensible sermons from John the 5th and 39th: "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me." (In particular the last clause.)

"On the whole we have had a very fine month of December, not more than three or four cold winter days, and no very bad storms yet. If we had a little more snow it would be better."

These memorandums are written separately on small pages, and many are probably lost; few of any interest remain, except the following:

"1782, December 3d.—Arrived in Boston and embarked "the French troops under the command of the Baron de "Viomenil from the southward, in four divisions. About "three or four thousand including officers. Very fine "troops. One division comes on Tuesday, 3d of December, 2d division the 4th, the 3d and 4th the 5th and 6th "day.

"December 4th.—A public dinner to the French officers, "about 50.

"December 13.—The Governor and Council dined with "the French General de Viomenil, a large company.

"December 23, 1782.—The French fleet, with the troops, "sailed from Boston, a large number of merchant vessels "sailed under the convoy."

Honorable Jeremiah Powell, a member of the Honorable Council died on a visit to his estate at North Yarmouth, Maine, September, 1784, aged sixty-four years.

His widow, Mrs. Sarah Powell, survived * many years, and died March, 1806, aged seventy-four. "Her mild and "amiable disposition endeared her to the whole circle of "her acquaintance. Her piety was unostentatious, and "the hopes and promises of the Gospel cheered her to the "last moment of her existence."

* Notices in the Boston newspapers.

ARTICLE XIV.

ORIGIN OF ARTICLE VIII.,

LITERATURE,

IN THE

CONSTITUTION OF MAINE.

LITERATURE IN THE CONSTITUTION.

DURING the session of the Legislature of 1834, as a member of the House I attended a meeting of the Committee on Education, when the subject of making a grant to one of the Seminaries of learning was under discussion. Governor King being present was requested to give his views to the committee.

He went very fully into the question, taking strong ground in favor not only of providing for Common Schools, but also of endowing our higher Seminaries. After speaking at considerable length upon education generally, and the means of promoting it, he stated that Article VIII. of our Constitution was drawn by Mr. Jefferson, under these circumstances:—

After the vote of separation was passed and Governor King was elected a Delegate to form the Constitution, but before the Convention was held business called him to Washington. While there, it occurred to him that he should be very glad to see Mr. Jefferson and get his views of the best Constitution for the State. So he “took a turn down to Monticello to see and converse with his old friend,” as he expressed it. He spoke of the interview as affording him a great deal of pleasure. Mr. Jefferson seemed to take a deep interest in the new State, and said it was very important to start right. They talked about the general provisions of the Constitution, but there was

nothing that he entered into with so much spirit as the cause of education. Upon that he dwelt as the main pillar of the prosperity and character of the State.

Near the close of the interview Governor King said to Mr. Jefferson, "I wish you would write what you have said, putting it into the form of an Article to be incorporated into our Constitution." Thereupon Mr. Jefferson took his pen and wrote out the substance, if not the exact words, of Article VIII., which was inserted through the influence of Governor King.

SAMUEL P. BENSON.

BRUNSWICK, FEBRUARY 9, 1870.

ARTICLE XV.

COASTING VOYAGES IN THE GULF OF MAINE,

MADE IN THE YEARS 1604, 5 AND 6, BY

SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN:

A PAPER READ AT THE WINTER MEETING OF THE MAINE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN PORTLAND, FEB. 18, 1875.

BY GEN. JOHN MARSHALL BROWN,

OF FALMOUTH.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE paper which follows was prepared, under many disadvantages, in great haste. It was my purpose to call attention to the extremely interesting narrative of Champlain, which, as found in the original edition of 1613, is comparatively unknown to students of American History, and not attempt either a translation, or even an extended compilation.

The accounts of De Monts' expedition, and his operations and discoveries on our coast, seem to have been chiefly taken by our historians from Lescarbot, who was not particularly friendly to Champlain, and had little interest in the events which preceded his own arrival in the country. Champlain's own journal published in 1613, and now accessible through the admirable reprint of the Abbe Laverdiere, is very complete and detailed in its statements, and the source to which we must go for *original* information. A subsequent edition published in 1632 is a summary of the work done during Champlain's residence here, and must have been prepared by other hands. In this edition the events of the three years are massed together, and the voyages of 1604 and 5 appear as one. The errors which have become incorporated in our published histories are traceable to this confusion. At the time this paper was prepared I knew of no attempt, in English, to give a narrative of these events in their proper order, or to call attention to their singular bearing upon the early history and cartography of our State. I have since learned that the Prince Society is soon to publish a translation of the edition of 1613.

CHAMPLAIN'S EXPLORATIONS OF THE COAST OF MAINE.

THE results of the Plantation at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay have been so extended and permanent, that the earlier attempts at colonization on the coast of New England have, until recently, met with little attention or favor from the historian. It has very properly become the special care of our own Society to throw light into this partial darkness, and give due prominence to efforts no less honorable or heroic, and antedating by many years the settlements which, under God, have been so fruitful of good to our country and the world. I have felt, however, that even we, in our zeal to add to the lustre of the great deeds of adventure performed by men of our own lineage and tongue, may have slighted that hardy and chivalrous race, who from across the English Channel held up a constant defiance to our forefathers, and in the very waters which bathe the headlands and beaches of our State, kept up a sturdy and honorable rivalry in adventure, discovery and trade. The north-eastern portion of North America was called New France more than fifty years before it was called New England.

In 1605, fifteen years before the Mayflower came to anchor in Plymouth harbor, its waters had been sounded, and its shores explored by an organized colony of French seeking for a permanent home; and eight years later there was published at the little shop of Jean Berjon, in the Rue

St. Jean de Beauvais at Paris, a chart attesting by its surprising accuracy the fidelity and skill with which the work had been performed. At that time the larger part of the present State of Maine had been under the dominion of France for nearly a century, nor were these pretensions abandoned for nearly a century and a half later, when, by the fall of Quebec in 1759 the eastern portion of our State passed forever from the possession of France. This long occupation having its beginning in days so shadowy and remote that fable and tradition have supplanted history, has from the beginning been fruitful of stirring adventures by sea and land, lofty ambition, heroic endurance, patient suffering, the prowess of gentlemen and men of arms, and great numbers of "toilers of the sea," the sacrifices of pious women, and martyred missionaries of the church.

It is the object of this paper to make brief mention of some adventures which mark a most important era in the history of Maine, and stand as it were on the border line which separates the fanciful from the real: adventures, in which there were many men of heroic build, but chief among them all, the man whose modest pen has preserved the story.

Samuel Champlain was born in 1567, at the little town of Brouage in Saintonge, now the Department of *Charente Inferieure*. For years the people of his neighborhood must have been familiar with the great cod fisheries of the countries beyond the sea. His father was a fisherman and may himself have made the voyage to the new found land. The son had the Basque eagerness for adventure; naturally a sailor he became an officer in Royal marine; he served also with honor in the wars, active everywhere, soldier or sailor as the emergency might arise. He early attracted the notice of the King and received many marks of his confidence and favor, and was ennobled for his worth. After a short service with the army in Brittany he spent three years in the West Indies and Mexico, there and

everywhere giving free scope to his wonderful powers of observation and facility of description, making notes and maps, and sketching in his way men and things, whether man or beast or fruit or flower. Safely at home again his restless nature urged him to another quarter of the globe, and in 1603 he sailed with Du Pont-Gravé and explored the St. Lawrence. The following year he joined the company of De Monts, not, as some historians assert, the pilot of the expedition, but especially commissioned, it would appear, by the King himself, a Royal Geographer, ordered to make discoveries and prepare maps and charts, and report directly to the Crown. Three years he remained here, faithfully carrying out, under circumstances of great hardship and peril, the instructions he had received, and the record he has left is a marvel of accuracy, patience and indomitable courage. The entire coast line of the Gulf of Maine was reconnoitered and described, and charts made of the principal harbors, which were in 1613 published at Paris under his own supervision.

The purpose of this paper renders unnecessary any particular allusion to his subsequent career. It is enough that America claimed him as her own, and his tomb is in the city he founded, in the New France, to whose welfare he devoted the best energies of his life.

The expedition of De Monts was prepared with great deliberation, and its composition arranged with thoughtful reference to the needs and possibilities of the future colony. The Company numbered on its rolls, soldiers inured to foreign service, sailors who were familiar with American waters, skilled mechanics, and gentlemen of rank.

De Monts was the first to leave France, sailing from Havre de Grace on the 7th of April in a vessel commanded by Captain Timothée; with him were the Sieurs de Poutrincourt and Champlain, and other gentlemen. Three days later, on the 10th, the other vessel, commanded by Captain Morel of Honfleur, with the Sieur de Pont-Gravé

and the rest of the Company, sailed with stores to join De Monts at Canceau, which had been selected as the rendez-vous.

When at sea, however, De Monts changed his plans and directed his course to a port further to the westward. On the 1st of May he sighted Sable Island, on the 8th the main land at Cape la Héve, and on the 10th made a harbor, at the present Liverpool, called by him "Port "Rossignol." On the 13th the party disembarked at "Port "au Mouton" and proceeded to erect shelters, having determined to await here the arrival of their consort, in search of whom a small party was sent toward Canceau in a shallop with letters of advice.

Meanwhile on the 19th of May, Champlain, accompanied by the Sieur Ralleau, secretary of De Monts, and ten men, left "Port au Mouton" for the purpose of making a reconnoissance of the coast. He rounded Cape Sable, passed along the west coast of Nova Scotia and penetrated the Bay of Fundy to nearly the site of Annapolis, and then returned to "Port au Mouton" about the middle of June. On the following day the Company, now increased by the arrival of the other vessel, abandoned their temporary shelters. Following the course which Champlain had previously taken they diligently explored the south and north shores of the Bay of Fundy, but without determining upon the place for their settlement. Leaving the mouth of the St. John River and proceeding westward, they landed first upon an island which, from the great number of birds resembling magpies (*margos*), they named "L'Isle "aux margos;" the little cluster is now known as "The "Wolves." Further to the westward could be seen other islands, says Champlain, one of large extent, called by the natives "Manthane," a name which, under the disguise of "Menan," it still bears.

After leaving "Isles aux Margos" they came to a river in the main land, and passing by the present site of

Eastport they entered the broad expanse of Passamaquoddy Bay. Ascending the river they came to a point where were two islands, on the larger of which the little colony disembarked and began at once the necessary preparations for their winter's residence. The narrative of Champlain gives a simple but vivid picture of this diminutive settlement of the "Holy Cross," so short lived that its very site was for more than a century unknown. It is now called Neutral or De Monts Island, and the river is fitly called by the name which the ill starred adventurers piously gave to the first organized attempt to plant a colony on our shores.

It is well known that the vexed question of the precise north-eastern boundary of the United States was only determined by the identification of this island, so that in more senses than one the little spot on our frontier has acquired a national importance.

But the *Sieur de Monts* had other and higher objects in view; his ambition reached beyond the narrow limits of the little island of "St. Croix." His busy brain found full scope during the bustle of preparation, and while carpenters and other artisans were at their work, and the various laborers filled out the long summer days with their allotted tasks, I can fancy there was great talk of what others had done and they might do, among the gentlemen of the suite. The daylight lingers long in these northern latitudes in the summer time, and there was much opportunity for counsel and little need of lamps at St. Croix at the time of which the narrative now treats.

On the last day of August *De Poutrincourt* was sent back to France with *Secretary Ralleau*, the former to make arrangements for his own adventure at Port Royal, the latter to put in order some of the affairs of the Company. What followed I give, as nearly as space will allow, in Champlain's own words. "After the departure of the "vessels," he says, "the *Sieur de Monts* determined to send "an expedition, without loss of time, along the coast of

"*Norumbegue*, and this he committed to my charge which
"was much to my liking. To this end I left St. Croix the
"2nd of September, 1604, with a *pattache* of seventeen or
"eighteen tons, twelve sailors and two savages as guides.
"This day we found the vessels of the *Sieur de Poutrin-*
"court which were anchored at the mouth of the river on
"account of the bad weather, and from this spot we could
"not move until the fifth of the same month, and then
"when two or three leagues at sea the fog came up so
"thick that we soon lost their vessels from sight. Continu-
"ing our course along the coast we made this day some
"twenty-five leagues and passed by a great quantity of
"islands, shallows and reefs, which extend seawards in
"places more than four leagues. We have named the
"islands '*les isles rangées*.' . . . This same day we passed
"quite near an island which is some four or five leagues
"long and were nearly lost on a little rock just under
"water which made a small hole in our bark near the
"keel. . . . The island is very high, and so cleft in
"places that at sea it appears as if seven or eight moun-
"tains were ranged side by side. . . . I have named
"this island, '*L'isle des Monts-deserts*,' its latitude is $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.
"The next morning, 6th of September, we made two leagues
"and perceived a smoke in a creek which was at the foot
"of the mountains and saw two canoes propelled by
"savages who came within musket shot to reconnoitre
"us." At this point, which would appear to be on the
southern or south-western shore of Mount Desert, Cham-
plain appears to have anchored for the night, for he says
that on the following day, which was the 7th of September,
the natives returned, and after receiving presents in
exchange for fish and game, consented to guide the
adventurers to their own home at *Peimtegoni* where they
said their chief *Bessabez* was.

I quote again from Champlain: "I think that this river
"is the same called by several pilots and historians

“*Norumbegue*, and which has been described by most of them as broad and spacious, with very many islands, with its entrance in 43° to $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of latitude, or, according to others, in 44° more or less. As for the longitude, I have never read or heard anyone speak of it. They say also, there is a great city well peopled with savages, adroit and skillful, and used to the manufacture of cotton. I am sure that most of those who speak of these things have never seen them and derive their authority from men who know no more than themselves. I am ready to believe that there are some who have seen the mouth of the river, (i. e. the bay,) because there are a great many islands there and it is in 44° . But there is no appearance of anyone’s having entered there, for they would have described it in quite another fashion in order to rid many of the doubt. I shall, therefore, narrate truly all that I have discovered and seen from the beginning as far as I have been.”

Champlain then describes in great detail the physical features of that wonderful portion of our coast called Penobscot Bay, which he makes extend from Mount Desert in the east, to the promontory of *Belabedec* on the west, (the present Owl’s Head.) Midway, and out at sea, he describes that singularly picturesque island named by him, “*isle haute*,” a name it still bears. Fish of all kinds abound, and game which make the numerous islands a frequent resort for the natives during the season. On the western shore are the mountains of *Belabedec*, the Camden hills of the present day, and everywhere are wooded islands, low lying rocks, and dangerous reefs. With the scrupulous care which characterizes him everywhere, he gives the necessary directions for entering the head waters of the bay.

“Coming to the South,” he says, “of the ‘*isle haute*,’ and ranging along the shore for a quarter of a league where are some rocks just out of water, and then heading to the west

"until you open all the islands which lie to the north of this island and you may be sure that when you see the eight or nine summits of *Isle des Monts-deserts* and the heights of *Bedabedec* you are directly opposite the river of *Norumbegue*; to enter, you must head to the north towards the very high mountains of *Bedabeder*, and you will see no islands before you, and can enter safely with plenty of water."

Entering the Bay, Champlain proceeded under the guidance of the savages he had taken at Mount Desert to the narrows at the mouth of the river and ascended the river to the point where the Kenduskeag stream enters it at Bangor, he speaks with enthusiasm of the scenery, the river banks covered with verdure, and here and there lovely stretches of meadow. At this point his progress was arrested by the falls. So he remained here and landed; the great oaks on the shore seemed to form a sort of park, to have been planted, he says, "for pleasure," but no city, no population skilled in the domestic arts, neither there nor anywhere on shore or on island was, as he says, "any town or village or any appearance of there having been any," only one or two squalid huts covered with bark after the fashion which they had seen practised at the St. Croix and on the shores of the great bay.

Here they met *Bessabez*, the chief or captain of the tribe, and *Cabahis*, who had jurisdiction over a family or tribe to the westward, perhaps at what is now Belfast. Great stir there was among the dusky natives at the sight of the strangers, dancing and singing, and much consumption of tobacco. But *Cabahis* drew himself apart from the noisy throng for a while, because, as the narrative says, "it was the first time he had ever seen Christians."

On the 17th of September, the day after all these festivities, Champlain took the altitude and found 45° 25' north latitude and began the descent of the river, and so continued coasting to the westward. At what I judge to

be the Georges River their native guides left them because the savages of the *Quinibequy* were their enemies. I quote again: "We ranged along the coast some eight leagues to the westward as far as an island distant some ten leagues from the *Quinibequy*, where we were obliged to stop on account of bad weather and contrary winds; in one part of our route we passed a quantity of islands and breakers, very dangerous, and shelving out into the sea some leagues." At this point the weather and head winds, and the scarcity of provisions compelled our hardy adventurers to retrace their steps. On the 23d of September, three weeks after leaving St. Croix they set about on their return, and in nine days after were greeted by their companions.*

A few remarks may be permitted upon this voyage. It resulted in giving to two of our most prominent and beautiful islands the names they still bear, "Mount Desert" and "Isle Haute." It was the first ascent of the Penobscot of

* It is almost incredible that in the histories of the United States, New England and Maine, scarcely an allusion is made to this expedition under the charge of Champlain.

Bancroft devotes a few lines to the operations of De Monts, under the dates 1605-6, but does not mention Champlain's agency.

Williamson, quoting from Belknap, gives the same date. Folsom notes the landing at Saco. Judge Godfrey gives a somewhat detailed account of the discoveries in the Penobscot, but erroneously makes the date 1605, and De Monts one of the party.

Palfrey gives three pages to Goswold, one to Pring, one to Weymouth, but dismisses the French discoveries in a few disparaging lines. Emphasizing the fact of their having reached Cape Cod!! but giving no account of the detailed operations on the coast of Maine!!

Parkman's allusion to the voyage of 1604 is singularly brief and incomplete.

The result which has been reached by this method of writing history has been, whether intentional or not, to magnify the English at the expense of the French, and Massachusetts at the expense of Maine.

which any trustworthy record has been preserved. It carried the flag of France and the banner of the church to a remote point in the interior.

Two other noteworthy facts are that Champlain received no intelligence of any Europeans on the coast, and found no fixed settlements of natives. The savages lived on the head-waters of the rivers and along the great carrying-places which constituted a thoroughfare from one end of the Acadian Peninsula to another, so that, as Champlain was informed, one could go from the St. Croix to the St. John and so to Quebec, or to the Penobscot and Kennebec, and so by the Chaudière to the St. Lawrence. The vast network of rivers and lakes made communication easy and rapid. That no tidings were received of any Europeans on the coast is doubtless satisfactory evidence that at this time, in 1604, and indeed within the memory of the generation then living, there had been no attempt at colonization, or even any exploration of the country within the limits traversed by Champlain. It would seem also to confirm the theory that Weymouth could not have entered the Penobscot in the following year, for so important an event as the voyage now under consideration certainly would have been reported to him.

During the month of Champlain's absence the little band had busied themselves to make preparations for the winter, and the accession to their number of the returned adventurers only gave new vigor to their efforts. Shelter was provided, but it was scanty enough for the inclement season, and disease of irresistible virulence, clutched at these poor waifs from the shores of sunny France, and closed their eyes to all earthly things. When the spring opened the little cemetery had in it thirty-five graves, nearly as many dead as living left to mourn their loss. Dispirited at such great misfortunes, De Monts resolved to abandon his plantation and return to France; but on the 15th of June the little band was gladdened by the news

of the arrival of two vessels bringing men and provisions.

"On the seventeenth of the month," says Champlain, "the *Sieur de Monts* decided to seek for a place better suited for habitation than ours, and on the eighteenth he left the island of *St. Croix* with some gentlemen, twenty sailors and two savages, *Panounias* and his wife, whom he did not wish to leave behind, and whom we took with us as a guide to the country of the *Almouchiquois*, hoping by means of her to see and learn more of the country, for she was a native of it.

"So ranging along the coast between *Menane*, which is about three leagues from the main land, we came to the southward of the '*Isles rangées*' and anchored at one where there were so many crows that we named it '*Isle aux corneilles*,' from thence we made '*L'isle des Monts-deserts*,' which is at the entrance of the river *Norumbegue*, as I have said before; thence we went some five or six leagues among several islands." These were doubtless the Fox Islands, and here they found a good harbor. On the 1st of July they set sail to the westward and made some twenty-five leagues, passing the islands and reefs Champlain had noticed in the previous voyage, and reaching the mouth of the *Quinibeguy*, as Champlain says, they anchored some three hundred yards from the entrance in five or six fathoms.

The narrative says: "At the entrance there is an island quite high which we have named '*la tortue*,' and between this and the main land are some scattered islands and rocks, covered at high water, but the sea breaks over them. The '*Isle de la tortue*' and the river are SSE. and NNW."

They were delayed here by the fog, but on the 5th of July they began the exploration of the river. They were now obviously in the Sheepscot River, which seems to have been called also *Quinibeguy* by the natives. At some distance up the river they narrowly escaped being lost on

a rock which they grazed in passing; further on they met some savages in two canoes; by the aid of the wife of their guide they accosted these hunters and secured their services as guides to their chief *Manthoumermer*. Proceeding some miles they passed through a beautiful country with fine meadow lands and little streams, then they passed by an island some four leagues long, and at last reached the head of the river, probably where is now Wiscasset. Here was *Manthoumermer*, their chief, and some twenty-five or thirty savages. There was at first some timidity on the part of the natives, but the conference resulted amicably, presents were exchanged, and a species of offensive and defensive alliance concluded between the two parties. On the following morning, under the guidance of the savages, the party descended the river by another passage than that of the previous ascent, with the intention of reaching a lake, so called, which appeared to be a well known resort of neighboring tribes. What follows I give in Champlain's words:

“Passing by some islands each of the savages left an arrow near a cape by which all must pass; they believe that unless they do this the devil will bring about some misfortune; they live in this superstition as well as many others. Near this cape we passed a fall of water, but it was not done without great difficulty, for although we had a fair and fresh wind and carried all the sail we possibly could, we were obliged to take a hawser ashore and fasten it to the trees and then pull with all our strength, and thus by main force and the favoring wind we got through. The savages who were with us carried their canoes along the shore, being unable to make headway with their paddles. After having passed the fall we saw beautiful meadow lands. I was much astonished at this fall because we descended easily with the tide, but at the fall it was against us, but above the fall it ebbed as before much to our satisfaction. Pursuing our route we came to

"a lake which is three or four leagues long, with islands in it. Here descend two rivers, the *Quinibeguy* which comes from the northeast, and another which comes from the northwest, by which *Marchim* and *Sazinou* were to come, but having waited the whole of this day without seeing them we resolved to keep our time employed, and so weighed anchor and came to the mouth of the river."

Time will not permit a full translation of the very interesting description which follows. It is evident that Champlain ascended the Sheepscoot to the northern extremity of Westport, descended the river on the west side of the island, passed close to what is now called Hockamock point, pulled the vessel through upper Hellgate and so entered the Kennebec proper, and passed on to Merrymeeting Bay. The descent was made by the true channel to the site of Fort Popham, where they probably anchored, unless they made a harbor a little further to the westward. From the Indians Champlain received an accurate description of this noble river; they told him it was the great route to the St. Lawrence, and explained to him the connection between it and the Chaudiere, describing, in fact, the very route by which, one hundred and seventy years later, the intrepid Arnold carried his brave little army to the very walls of Quebec. They further told him that there were no Indians on the coast, but that in the interior, probably meaning Norridgewock, they lived and cultivated the soil.

On the eighth of the month the party, previously detained by the fog, set sail to the westward, probably taking a direct course for the headland of Cape Elizabeth, for they passed without entering Casco Bay, which Champlain describes as full of islands, and beyond them to the west great mountains where dwells a savage chief named "*Ane lu*." The next day coasting along they saw signs of habitations, smokes in the main land which seemed to invite them, and many of the natives, more than eighty

in number, dancing and gesticulating on the shore. The vessel came to off what is now Old Orchard Beach, and anchored inside of what is now Stratton's Island. Here there was a friendly conference with the natives, and from this point they made a visit to an island, "which," in Champlain's language, "is very beautiful, having fine oaks "and walnuts; the soil is cultivated and bears vines with "good grapes in their season. They were the first we had "seen since leaving Cape '*la Hève*.' This we called '*L'isle "de Bacchus*.'" One can with difficulty recognize under this description the Richmond Island of the present day. The lofty oaks and walnuts, and luxuriant vines have disappeared, and all that remains of the spot which, perhaps more than any other on our coast, with the exception of Pemaquid, was in the early days the resting place of trade and active enterprise, is a bare, wind-swept field, uninviting to all but the storm-beaten sailor who seeks shelter under its lee.

"At high water," Champlain continues, "we weighed "anchor and entered a little river, (the Saco,) which we "could not do sooner on account of a bar, on which at low "tide there is but one-half a fathom of water, but at the "flood a fathom and one-half, and at the spring tide two "fathoms, within are three, four, five and six," a very accurate description of the physical features apparent to this day. Champlain, with his customary exactness enters into minute details of the habits, appearance, and character of the people. The river, he says, was called the river of the *Chouacoet* country. They landed and examined the little gardens of the inhabitants; Champlain and De Monts were interested in the culture of maize, "They plant," says the narrative, "in gardens, sowing three or four grains "in one spot, and then with the shell of the '*siguor*' they "gather a little earth around it: three feet from that they "sow again, and so on."

We can scarcely improve, even now, on this method of

planting that wonderful grain which Champlain calls "wheat of India," and we Indian corn. A word may be in place with reference to the singular agricultural implement used by the natives. Champlain says it was the shell of the *signoc*, a remarkable fish to which, later on, he gives some pages of description. It was simply the curious shell of the horseshoe crab, and those who are familiar with it can readily understand how serviceable it may have been in their simpler gardening operations. Champlain made a chart of this harbor, giving all the prominent features of the coast and river line, with soundings, just as he had conscientiously done before at the Kennebec, at St. Croix, on the shore of the Bay of Fundy and Nova Scotia. These were all studies for the maps, which, as Royal Geographer, it was his special mission to prepare.

On the twelfth of the month, or probably on the eleventh, because he says it was on Sunday and Sunday was on the eleventh, the little band left "*Chouacoet*." They made some twenty miles to the westward, but contrary winds compelled them to anchor; on the main land where they went ashore were meadow lands of great extent, but only two natives were seen, who fled at their approach. They saw great quantities of starlings, whose song like the blackbirds of their own country, doubtless brought many thoughts of France; and there were wild grapes also, and walnuts, and luxuriant verdure. The coast, he says, was sandy, as indeed it had been since they left the Kennebec. The head wind continuing, they retraced their route some six miles, and anchored at the harbor at Cape Porpoise, which Champlain calls "*Port aux isles*," on account of the three islands which furnish shelter there. But his observing eye had noticed the entrance of the Kennebunk River, and he gives also a very correct description of this harbor, with such sailing directions as would make the passage easy to any navigator who might follow him. His computation of the latitude of this point is correct to

within five one-hundredths of a degree. It was not until the fifteenth of the month that they were able to proceed upon their journey. By the long sea beaches of Wells and York and Hampton they coasted, but with no inducement to seek a harbor, and so as the sun was setting they steered to the southward, passed the Merrimack and its surrounding marshes, which, in the dim twilight seemed like a great bay, caught a glimpse in the east of the Isles of Shoals, and at last anchored under the shelter of Cape Ann, to await the day.

We have no immediate interest in their explorations to the southward; it is interesting to know that they crossed Massachusetts Bay, entered on the eighteenth of the month the harbor in which, fifteen years later, the Pilgrim Fathers found their home, rounded the sandy promontory of Cape Cod, and terminated their southward journey at what is now Nanset. Evidently no knowledge of Gosnold's expedition had reached our adventurers, for Champlain gives his own names to the places he visited, and to Cape Cod gives the more appropriate designation of *Cap Blanc*, the White Cape.

On the 25th of July, De Monts, finding his stores rapidly diminishing, decided to return to St. Croix. On his return he stopped again at *Chouacot* and here had an interview with "*Marchin*," the Sagamo of Casco Bay, "who," says Champlain, "had the reputation of being one of the "bravest men of his country, and he had a fine manner, "and all his gestures and movements were grave and "dignified, savage though he was." They gave him presents, and he in return gave them a young Etechemin from the eastward, an Indian boy whom he had made prisoner in some foray. From the Saco they proceeded to the Kennebec, arriving there on the 29th of July. Here they had an interview with a chieftain named *Amaisson*.

Again I quote from Champlain: "He told us there was "a vessel six leagues from the harbor which had been

“engaged in fishing, and the people on board had killed “five savages of this river, under the pretense of friendship, “and according to his description we judge them to be “English, and named the island where they were ‘*Le Nef*,’ “because at a distance it had that appearance.” (That is, it looked like the hull of a ship.) This was Monhegan, and in these few lines are the only allusions by Champlain to contemporary English discoveries on our coast. The vessel was the Archangel, under George Weymouth.

From the Kennebec our adventurers steered for “*Isle haute*,” arriving on the last of July, where they anchored awaiting the dawn. August 1st they proceeded to *Cap Corneille*, where they passed the night; on the second they arrived at the old plantation at St. Croix, where they found a vessel with supplies from France.

With reference to this second voyage of Champlain, a few points are to be noticed. The previous discoveries were passed by without further investigations; the party did not even enter Penobscot Bay, but the exploration of the Sheepscot and Kennebec was thorough.

The Indians were in the interior, and while they appeared to have had some knowledge of Europeans, it was not of such a character as to warrant an opinion that, within their memory, there had been any white settlements on the coast. *Chouacoet* was the most important point discovered, and here appears to have been the only settlement of the aborigines which had a permanent character.

Dissatisfied, both with his settlements at St. Croix, and his discoveries to the south and west along the coast, De Monts now determined to transplant his colony to Port Royal. He himself returned to France. But Champlain could not leave his work unfinished; he decided to remain, and his simple, modest narrative gives us a vivid picture of the preparations made for the ensuing winter. His hope, as he says, was to make new discoveries in the direction of Florida.

On the 1st of March, 1606, the *Sieur du Pont-Gravé* fitted out a vessel of about eighteen tons. On the sixteenth, all being ready, they set sail, but were obliged to seek a harbor on an island to the south of *Grand Menan*. On the following day they made some fifty miles to the westward, probably near *Mount Desert*, but a severe storm so buffeted them, that in the little harbor where they had anchored they were driven ashore. After repairing the frail bark they returned to *Port Royal*. On the 29th of April they made another attempt, only to meet with fresh disasters, for at the entrance to *Port Royal* they were again cast ashore, losing their vessel, and running imminent risk of their lives.

Disheartened at these disasters, and the non-appearance of the vessels which were expected with supplies, *Du Pont* decided to return to France, and on the 16th of July they abandoned *Port Royal*, leaving two men who had bravely volunteered to remain and guard the property which was left behind. After having rounded *Cape Sable*, however, they were gladdened by the sight of a shallop, in which was *Sieur Ralleau*, secretary of *De Monts*. He announced the arrival of the "*Jonas*," a vessel bringing new accessions under the command of *Poutrincourt*, to the colony, among others the versatile advocate *Lescarbot*, the future historian of *New France*. So they gladly retraced their steps, and on the 31st of July arrived once more at *Port Royal*. The new comers set to work with commendable vigor, and the story of their daily avocations, as narrated by *Lescarbot*, is exceedingly entertaining; but with this our limits will not permit us to dwell. *Du Pont* decided to return to France and take with him all the company who passed with him the previous winter, with a few exceptions. Among these *Champlain*, who says: "I remained also, "with the *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, intending by the grace of "God, to finish and perfect the chart which I had commenced of the country and the coast."

After one ineffectual attempt, the party left Port Royal on the 5th of September, 1606. On the seventh they anchored in the St. Croix, on the eighth they visited, in a small boat, the island where De Monts had spent the dreary winter of 1604-5. They found some traces of the gardens, still bearing some of the pot herbs planted so long before, and some grain self-sown, and in excellent condition. Returning to their vessel they coasted to the westward, to proceed directly to the extreme limit of the discoveries of the preceding year, so to lose no time on the twelfth they turned towards Chouacoet, and reached the river on the twenty-first. Lescarbot gives some details of this nine days voyage.

They were four days in reaching Penobscot Bay, having stopped en route to repair their little craft. Passing through the Fox Islands they reached the mouth of the Kennebec, where they were again in peril on account of the "great currents which are peculiar to the place." It would appear also, from Lescarbot, that the party landed at Cape Elizabeth before reaching Saco, but upon this point there is some doubt. Champlain adds that the Indians at Chouacoet had finished their harvest, and that he did not fail to taste the grapes on the island of Bacchus, which were ripe and quite good. From this point they made Cape Ann, and so to the southward; but the voyage was without fruit. In a conflict with the natives they lost several of their company. On the 28th of October they set sail from Malabarre for the Isle Haute. On the thirty-first, between Mount Desert and the Mouth of the Machias, they lost their rudder and were in imminent peril. With much ingenuity they succeeded in reaching a harbor, but not until the 14th of November, after many dangers and disasters did they reach Port Royal. Of their enthusiastic reception, the feasting and masquerading which followed, the long winter enlivened by Lescarbot's wit, and the bonhommie of their versatile and vivacious nation, our

limits will not permit us to give any description. For the purpose of this hasty investigation we have nothing to do with the future of the colony.

I fancy that few who have read the simple narrative in Champlain's words, or who have followed this very imperfect abridgement of it, can fail to see its important bearing on the history of our State. So far as I know, the three voyages are the first thoroughly intelligible contribution to the cartography of Maine.

That the work was done by a gentleman of such energy, patience, and accuracy, must be to us a matter of constant satisfaction. His monument is here, as well as on the banks of the majestic St. Lawrence, and his memory will be preserved in the great landmarks on our coast which bear the names he gave them two hundred and seventy years ago, as well as in the great lake he discovered, and which bears *his* name, or the quaint town which he founded on the heights of Quebec, and which to this day has the sight and sound and savor of that older time, a gift, as it were, of one of its family jewels from the Old France to the New.

ARTICLE XVI.

NOW AND THEN.

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq.,

OF NORRIDGEWOCK.

READ AT THE WINTER SESSION, AUGUSTA, JAN., 1868.

NOW AND THEN.

ALTHOUGH I make no pretention to the honor of being that "Oldest Inhabitant" who is presumed to know everything about the weather, and when the coldest days happened, or the deepest snows or greatest floods; still, in compliance with the request of a worthy member of the Maine Historical Society, I will attempt to describe some of the events I have witnessed, and changes which have occurred within eighty years past, or within the period of my recollection, not particularly described in official documents and statistical accounts, which from time to time have been published, and made accessible to every one.

It may be seen by the census that the population of Maine increased more than tenfold from 1784 to 1860, being 56,321 at the former period, and 583,026 at the latter. I will state, in general terms, that in my opinion the comforts and conveniences of life, and condition of the country, have increased in the same rate in many things not included in official reports.

Money, as a circulating medium, has increased immensely within my recollection. The improved value of our household furniture and accommodations, of farming tools and implements of husbandry, of food and clothing and other things not taxable, can readily be perceived by all who are now living who were of age to take notice of

things eighty years ago; as also great improvements in our dwelling houses and other buildings, in the cultivation of lands, the construction of fences, in the state of the roads and facilities of inter-communication. The appearance and value of stock on our farms have been greatly improved.

Public schools and institutions of learning have been established by which every child in the state, capable of learning, may obtain a good education, and scarce a child of a dozen years old and upwards can be found among our native inhabitants who cannot read and write, where ignorance and vice once prevailed; and the moral and intellectual condition of our people has been improved, and intemperance, the source of crime and wretchedness, has been much abated.

The facility of transporting the mail has been brought under the power of steam, and the telegraph and the press convey intelligence with the rapidity of lightning in all directions. Political opponents treat each other with courtesy and civility in the free states, compared with the time when Burr killed Hamilton in a duel, and when Jay was reviled for framing a commercial treaty with Great Britain which proved highly advantageous to us as a nation, and was called a traitor and kingbird in public papers, and was publicly accused of being bribed by British gold, and some dared even to accuse Washington with corruption for presuming to ratify the treaty. When it was ascertained that the treaty was ratified, being at a seaport in Massachusetts, I heard a distinguished sea captain, of reputable standing in the community, denounce Washington publicly in bitter terms, and wish, *in the spirit of Booth*, "that a ball had been put through his heart before "he signed the treaty;" and this avowal gave him public office and a seat in the legislature by his political friends.

To sustain my general statements I will state a few incidents in corroboration;

At a public town meeting in Norridgewock, holden August 20, 1788, a petition for an abatement of taxes was adopted and signed by the selectmen, in which it is stated that "it is found, on the strictest inquiry, that there is not "seven dollars in money, comprehending every farthing in "the town of Norridgewock, neither do the inhabitants of "this place, considered at large, eat bread in their families "more than three-quarters of the year. It is not uncommon "to find a whole neighborhood without a cow, and there "never was a piece of fulled cloth made in Norridgewock."

There were then seventy-nine families in town, or over four hundred inhabitants. The greater part had lived there twelve or fifteen years.

Boys often suffered for food and clothing. Their clothes were usually made of waled cloth, taken from the loom. They wore trowsers without any flannel. I wore no flannel during my minority, and suffered with the cold when I went out in a cold wind, when trowsers were worn thin.

A woman died in this town not long after the above date, leaving a family rather destitute, and I was credibly informed that her father, who was a pious man, prayed in the hearing of several, at his family devotions, "that his "motherless grandchildren might be fed by his Heavenly "Father, and that they might be clothed in good all-wool "gray, such as Tarbell's boys had."

As late as the close of the last century there was often much suffering for want of food and clothing in many places. New settlers raised corn at first in all places, and lived on it two or three years, till they could get the land in condition to raise wheat. In many towns the soil would not produce a crop of wheat, and children lived on hasty pudding; and when the corn was cut off by frost they lived on beans. It was "bean porridge hot and bean "porridge cold" with them, with little else. Laboring men sometimes had to make "a dinner of herbs," boiled greens in June, green peas in July, green corn and new

potatoes in August, till the harvest came off. I knew how to live on cheap fare when I was young, when skimmed milk brought three miles to eat with hominy for a meal, seemed a luxury.

In 1799 I heard Rev. Paul Coffin, minister of Buxton, who had travelled extensively as a missionary, and seen some suffering in new places, say, that there were more cases then of destitution in some of the old towns near the centre of York County, than he had seen or heard of in the new towns; that the people of these towns raised but little on their lands besides corn, which constituted their principal article of food; that children often suffered for want of suitable food, especially those who had intemperate parents, who laid out more of their earnings for rum than they did for necessaries for their families; that the children were brought up in ignorance and could neither read nor write when they came of age; that these men would get out a few staves and carry to market, and come home with a jug of rum, and do nothing till it was gone.

I knew a large family about that time living near Farmington which lived mostly on potatoes, and the mother often said that if they only had bread enough she would never complain of her living if they had nothing else. The early settlers endured much hardship, and had many fatiguing jaunts on foot to carry their corn to mill, going five, ten, and at one time thirty miles to mill with a bushel of corn on their shoulders. Boys of fourteen had to carry half a bushel. I often went five miles to mill, and once, when the water failed at that mill, went ten miles to another mill with my back load of corn, rather than go home without meal, and live a week without bread.

I several times went to Hallowell, forty miles, on foot, and once to North Yarmouth, eighty miles, with a heavy pack.

I became well acquainted with Benjamin Fairbanks, and also with several others of the first settlers in Winthrop,

who, when the post route from Boston came no farther than Portland, informed me that they formed an association consisting of twenty-six members, who alternately went to Portland once a fortnight to carry their letters and to get the mail. There was no road then east of North Yarmouth. They went by way of Lewiston and Durham on foot, and in the winter time on snow-shoes. Mr. Fairbanks said that he went on snow-shoes when the snow was deep and dry, and that he had to carry a hatchet and blanket so as to camp by the way when he could not reach a settler's house on the Androscoggin.

The settlement in Winthrop was made by men who came from Middleborough, and others from the old colony mostly, who were enterprising and made early provision for schools. Things are different with us now.

Now, all are supplied with wholesome food, and many in every place enjoy the comforts and luxuries of life, and money in abundance is in circulation. In 1788, the money in the town of Norridgewock was less than two cents to each individual; now, by the valuation, there is \$240 *per capita*. A cash tax of more than thirteen thousand dollars was raised and promptly paid the last year. I saw one farmer pay the collector a hundred dollars within ten days after it was assessed, and three or four months before the tax became due, without any premium or discount, and the balance of his tax, twenty-two dollars, was paid promptly. In 1864-5, this town obtained loans to pay soldiers' bounties, to the amount of over twenty thousand dollars, within the limits of the town at six per cent. The town, however, mourns the loss of forty-two young men, the most of them unmarried, in the war of the late rebellion, which must have a depressing effect on the prosperity of the town for a generation to come, by depriving widows of their husbands and others of their prospects of husbands.

But little attention was paid to schools or religious instruction by the towns in Maine at their first settlement,

except a few on the seaboard and now and then in favored towns in the interior.

The school-master is now abroad and found in every place in the State, and in no portion of the globe are children and youth better instructed than ours have been since Maine became a state, and it is in evidence that her scholars are in demand in all the free states of the Union for teachers and judicial and other officers, and that Maine has within a few years furnished even Massachusetts, her mother, with a Governor,* a graduate of one of our colleges, a young man who discharged his trust with ability, and presidents of a number of colleges, judges of the highest courts, senators and representatives of distinguished ability for many of our states, and that our own delegations in Congress are not surpassed in learning or intelligence by those of any other state, and that if a mistake in polling had not prevailed at the time of our last presidential nomination, a Maine man, whose right it was to be put in nomination with the lamented Lincoln, would now have been an occupant of the highest seat in the nation, whose policy would have accorded with that of the people and he would have been an honor to the nation.

Intemperance, which overspread our land like an increasing flood till within forty years, has, by the efforts of temperance societies, the Maine Law, and the vigilance of good men, been much abated where formerly all drank, and some drank to excess.

I had no personal knowledge of men or things in Maine, until I came from Martha's Vineyard in my father's family and settled in a forest in the extreme limits of the territory, (which was afterwards included within the town of Farmington,) in September 1792. We came by water to Bath, where we made a short stop. I went to the school-house, where some twenty good looking boys were at play

* Governor Andrew.

as the master "had not come." Soon the word was passed "the master has come," and all went into school immediately, in an orderly manner. The master* was lame in both feet and went on crutches, and I was told that he was a good instructor, followed teaching as a profession; and that the town, from the time of its incorporation, had sustained a school.

We wished to see Hon. Dummer Sewall, and were told that he was the principal dignitary of the place, was the Justice of the town, Colonel of the Militia, State Senator, and a land proprietor. We wanted some information about his land at Sandy River. I went with my father and saw him. We were told that Mr. King, who had a partner in Boston, did more business than all others in the place. He had a ship in the Liverpool trade which had just arrived, and the men were discharging a cargo of salt, some for fishermen along the coast into fishing smacks, some into the store for the country trade, and the balance into a coaster, to send to Boston, with a tide waiter, or naval officer on board taking an account of the quantity. There were a few stores and not many dwelling houses in the place, and but little was doing. A few small vessels belonged to the place employed as coasters carrying lumber to Boston, and in West India voyages in the winter season. There was no meeting house in the town. When the tide favored they went to Arrowsic (Georgetown?) to meeting.

We came up the river by water to the narrows at the head of Swan Island. I then, with part of the family, came up to Hallowell on horseback, the most of the way by a very rough road or path, from which other paths diverged, with no guideboards, so that we found it necessary to procure a guide to show us when or where to turn down to the ferry. We passed but few dwellings after we left Pownalborough, crossed the Worromontogus

* Master George.

stream on a long, gridiron bridge, and crossed the river at Hallowell in a ferry-boat, swimming the horse by the side of the boat.

There were then about a dozen houses in the village of Hallowell, and three or four places where goods were sold. Isaac Clark was the inn holder; he had a two story house, and there was a large house called the Dutton house, the inside unfinished, in which a family lived. I lodged there ten years afterwards, when the lower rooms were finished, but the chambers were partitioned off with rough boards, and the floors rough and not nailed down. New settlers in the country all lived in log houses at first five to ten years, until they were able to *commence* building a framed house, and could procure boards, and they usually moved in as soon as the outside and a single room inside were finished, and lived in it in that condition sometimes for years, not so comfortably as in a log house, the seams of which could be stopped on the outside with clay, and caulked on the inside with moss; then with a large fire the house could be kept warm night and day. Boys on a straw bed spread on the chamber floor over the fireplace in the attic of a log house could sleep as warm as need be. I know it to be so, but often suffered with cold in a large, unfinished house afterwards.

There was no painted house in the village to be seen in 1792, no meeting house or other public building. Moses Sewall kept a few goods to sell in a room at the end of his house next to the street, and Rowland Smith kept a small assortment of goods in a little building opposite Clark's tavern, afterwards used as a hatter's shop.

On the 26th of September, 1792, we arrived at Sandy River, at the township, which in 1794 was incorporated into the town of Farmington. There were then eighty-seven families in the place; all but seven lived in log houses, and it had been inhabited by some of them eleven years. The lands in this town were more productive than

in other places, especially the large intervalles which lined the Sandy River in a circuit through the whole length and across the lower end of the township.

The first settlers were energetic and industrious, and suffered less for want of food than in other places.

Lemuel Perham, a surveyor and schoolmaster, was an early settler, and taught school during a short period in the winters in the central part of the settlement till the town was incorporated, and some times afterwards for many years.

The pioneers, as in other places, depended at first wholly on corn from which to make their bread, and the want of roads and teams, and the want of mills caused much fatigue and hardship as in other places.

I lived in the place of our first settlement, on a poor lot of land five years, then spent one winter in Massachusetts, then the greater part of the time at a new place adjoining Farmington, now Industry, fifteen years, in which time I was in Farmington three winters, in North Yarmouth one, New Sharon one, Winthrop two, in Hallowell more than two years, from 1802 to last of 1804. I have been over the stage route from Kittery to Schoodic; from the Atlantic by the Kennebec to near its source; explored the Sandy River from its mouth to near its source, and a long section of the Androscoggin, and have seen no land so extensively productive as the whole extent of Farmington, no place which has been so much improved as that of Farmington village. When I first saw the plat on which it is built it was covered with spruce and hemlock trees; a few acres had been felled along the margin and had been burnt over, and the black logs laid on the ground; the fire had run through the standing trees as far as could be seen, and they were burnt black to their tops, and a more forbidding prospect could not be imagined. It is now the pleasantest village in the state, containing a hundred neatly painted and finished dwellings, a court house and other

county buildings, an elegant, large edifice for the State Normal School, three brick churches, a bank, a printing office, lawyer's office, stores and shops, three schoolhouses, and numerous other buildings; with the affairs of the place controlled by a vigilant incorporated "Village Corporation."

The village of Hallowell began to be built up soon after I first saw it in 1792. Charles Vaughan, Esq., an English gentleman of property, being interested with his father's other heirs in a large tract of land in which they had a hereditary title, situate in Hallowell, having explored the same, formed a high opinion of the soil and situation, and the scenery on the Kennebec, and having married an amiable and accomplished lady in Boston, Miss Apthorp, belonging to one of the first families, a sister of John T. Apthorp, Esq., several years state treasurer, determined to settle at Hallowell, and to do all in his power to build up the place. He bargained for four townships of eastern lands, accepted the agency of the Plymouth Company's lands, made extensive preparations, and in 1793 established his residence in that place.

His brother, Hon. Benjamin Vaughan, who was considered the head of the family, who had been a member of parliament, who in opinion agreed with William Pitt, and whose sympathy was with us in our struggle for independence, who had formed a friendly acquaintance with Franklin while he was our minister in France, and had formed a high opinion of the character of Washington, after the adoption of our constitution, and the establishment of our government on a firm basis, determined to leave his native land, renounce his allegiance to royalty, and join his brother Charles and settle in a free country, on their family estate in Hallowell, on "the beautiful banks of the "Kennebec," as soon as his brother could prepare a suitable place for his residence. These facts being known, excited high expectations throughout the country, even to

the extreme settlements on Sandy River, where operations were commenced in 1793. Men of influence from the best towns far and near, ship-builders, ship-owners, merchants and traders, men of all professions, skillful mechanics and industrious workmen in throngs came to the place, some to erect buildings and to engage in trade and navigation, and some to find employment. The place increased rapidly in wealth and in numbers, and in the state and condition of society. Rev. Mr. Gillet, a worthy minister, was settled by the town, and a large meeting-house commenced in 1794, and completed in 1795. An academy was incorporated and put in operation.

Mr. Vaughan built an elegant house for his brother on the elevated situation at the lower end of the village commanding an extensive view of the river and the surrounding country above and below the village, which the Doctor, his brother, when he came over in 1795, took possession of and occupied as long as he lived, to an advanced age. Mr. Vaughan also built a house at the Hook for his friend, Captain John Sheppard, a skillful English navigator, which was occupied by him and his family, it was supposed without rent, many years. Mr. Vaughan built the wharf at the Hook, and a store and warehouses, and a brewery, with the hope that beer might be used instead of ardent spirits, and improve the habits of the intemperate, but failed to accomplish his object. He employed a great number of men, built the large flour mill on the small stream at the Hook, which, too late, he found too small to carry the mill, and the cost of building the mill was lost. He built workshops and dwelling houses for the accommodation of his workmen, built a house and barn and put in order a farm for his homestead, a pleasant situation half a mile back, cleared up a large farm two miles back from the river, stocked it with the best breeds of animals, importing some from England, which were highly recommended in English publications, with drawings and engravings showing

the form, size and color of those best for draught or for the dairy; took pleasure in showing the drawings to farmers and others who called on him, and in describing the good qualities of animals kept for breeders, tendering their progeny to farmers at cost, and the use of animals gratis; procured a skillful English farmer to take the oversight of his farm, Samuel Stantial, who planted an orchard of choice fruit, made a fine garden, and kept everything in the neatest order, exceeding anything I had ever seen before, when I with a party visited the place in June, 1807. His English cherry trees just beginning to bear looked beautifully. We saw a large box of scions which the day before had been received, after two months' passage from Liverpool, which had been put up in a careful manner for grafting. It was late in the season for grafts to be set, and some had sprouted, but he thought his gardener would save them.

Mr. Vaughan spared no expense or pains during more than twenty years to promote the agricultural interest of the county, did more than any other individual, before any agricultural society was formed in the state, to improve the breed of stock and swine, and to furnish scions to improve our orchards. The farmers, not only in Hallowell, Winthrop and Readfield were greatly benefited by his efforts, but some at a distance of fifty miles, where I have seen the best stock and swine, and the best apples to be found in the state, as the result of his efforts. When the Somerset Agricultural Society was formed he sent me two thousand scions, put in nice order by his gardener, for gratuitous distribution, with information where we might procure the progeny of his best animals without any extra charge for the price. Our society availed itself of the advice, and defrayed the expense of procuring one animal for the benefit of farmers of the county. In these efforts he enjoyed himself, and was successful. He employed two

hands on his homestead and made it productive; a younger brother of mine lived with him a year in 1803-4.

He built a wharf at Jones's Eddy, near the mouth of the river, where he erected a store and warehouses, with the expectation of the place being made a port of entry to facilitate the course of trade up the river, but did not succeed as he expected, and his investments proved a total loss. He derived, as before stated, no benefit from his flour mill or brewery at the Hook, and his large outlays exhausted his funds. His lands in Somerset and Penobscot did not increase in value as he had expected, and after seven years' experimenting he had to abandon all his projected schemes for promoting the prosperity of the village, and to assign to his brother, who had made advances to him, all the buildings he had erected, (except on his homestead,) also his interest in the Stantial farm; to give up some of his contracts for state lands, assign his interest in all to others. He then devoted his whole attention to farming, as I have stated, and died at the age of seventy-two.

Mr. Vaughan was a man of ardent temperament, of a benevolent disposition, enthusiastic in projecting schemes of improvement, a good citizen, true to his engagements while his funds lasted, and no workman ever failed to get his wages promptly. He was strict to require the fulfilment of all contracts.

Hon. Benjamin Vaughan, familiarly called Doctor, was a gentleman of mild deportment, unassuming in his manners, well educated, of a sound mind, well skilled in medical science. Our best physicians had full confidence in his sagacity, as one stated, in determining the nature of a disease, and was always esteemed judicious in prescribing a remedy. He manifested an interest in the welfare of every one, paid kind attention to all cases in the village which required medical attention without fee or reward.

Being the oldest son he inherited an estate sufficient for his support, and was able to assist his friends without engaging in any business. He had the largest private library I ever saw, and spent his time in study and acts of charity. A sister came over with him, lived in his family, and married John Merrick, Esq., an English gentleman of a finished education, who had studied divinity, and stopped a year or two in Boston and preached in one of the Boston churches; then married Miss Vaughan and settled near her brothers in Hallowell. These three families, by their kind and polite deportment, made themselves accessible to every one, and soon gave a tone to the manners of the place. Mr. Merrick became a useful member of society, took a lively interest in everything which was for the benefit of the place; always had a pleasant word for the boys in the street as he passed them, which gratified them. He saw a small boy one day kicking his kite because it would not sail, said to him "that is not right, *you* ought to "be kicked for not fixing it right," took the kite and placed the strings properly, and the boy went off pleased with kite flying. By this course all the boys were seen to respect him and try to imitate him in his civility and politeness. He treated the laborer or mechanic with familiarity. When one was carting a load of dressing, which was composed partly of chips and dirt, to his cornfield, he said to him, "What! do you plant chips?" When passing me when I had on a coat cut according to the cloth, an inch or more shorter than common, he says "What a bobtail coat you have!" He could discuss a philosophical question with all the shrewdness of a professor; was a musician, could play on any instrument; none could excel him on a violin, or in sailing a boat.

After he became acquainted with town affairs he was chosen selectman and town agent and was a useful officer; also cashier of the bank. He often called, and sometimes

spent a night with me. He lived till he was ninety-six years old. Not long before he died I received an admonition from him to be careful and not expose myself to a fall, as all his aged friends came to their death by a fall.

After the Vaughans and Mr. Merrick settled in Hallowell the business of the place increased rapidly until the war of 1812, which checked all improvement. At the close of the last century, and during the first ten years of this, no place in the state contained a larger proportion of intelligent citizens. Her merchants, traders and mechanics were men of integrity, and had the confidence of all who dealt with them. It was stated that more business was done here than in any other place east of Portland, and more than in all other places on the Kennebec. Large quantities of lumber were brought down by water and much by land from Belgrade, Monmouth, and the intervening towns, then purchased and shipped to Boston and other places by coasters, and some to the West Indies and some to Europe. I was a clerk in a store in 1805, and paid B. Brown, of Vassalboro, a thousand dollars to complete a cargo of a ship bound to Ireland, purchased under the inspection of an agent sent out, consisting partly of oak ton timber for Catholics to have sawed up with whip-saws to make coffins of. A superstition prevailed then that nothing was suitable for a coffin but oak.

Large quantities of corn and pork were brought in from the country, especially from the whole length of the Sandy River valley and from the settlements on the Androscoggin, paid for in goods, and sold to fishermen and others from down river and along the coast, which was carried away in boats and small vessels in the spring. The streets were often filled with teams during the winters, and with horses in the summer, and ox-teams with boards. But few English or fancy goods were then kept in Gardiner, and Hallowell had some good customers from that place, and

some from Augusta and other places up the river, and from nearly all the upper settlements on Sandy River. Her merchants were much respected.

From 1795 to 1810 Rev. E. Gillet, as has been said, was the pastor; Samuel Moody, an efficient and successful teacher, was preceptor at first, and then William Kinney. John Sewall, Esq., a worthy man, was school-master, town clerk, and sometimes representative. Samuel S. Wilde was first a distinguished lawyer and advocate, a good citizen, then Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, esteemed and honored. Nathaniel Porley was a well educated lawyer whose wit was sarcastic; his wife was a sister of Judge Dummer, a benevolent, pious lady. Mr. Wilde's wife was a daughter of General Cobb of Revolutionary fame. Thomas Bond was an honest lawyer, and capable; afterwards state senator. Nathaniel Dummer was ship-owner, merchant, Judge of Court of Common Pleas, and an executive counsellor. Jeremiah Dummer was merchant and cashier of the bank. N. Dummer and John O. Page, presidents of the bank. John O. Page was ship-owner and merchant. William H. Page a fancy goods trader who always had articles to please the ladies. Nathan Moody and David Moody were merchants of the first class, as were Nathan Batchelder and Edward Emerson, Percy Mann, Benjamin Dearborn, Increase Page, and Nathaniel Cheever, who was afterwards editor of the *American Advocate*. A paper called the *Toecin* was published for some time during the French Revolution in 1793 by Thomas B. Wait, Howard S. Robinson, and John K. Baker. Thomas, John, and David Agry were ship-masters, the first two merchants of the first class. Thomas Fillebrown, master of a coaster and trader, also William Pool and Abner Lowell. David Sewall, Esq., was the justice and trader. John Arnold ship-owner and trader, and Philip Robinson, Daniel Smith, William Morse, and Chandler Robbins, Esq., were traders. James Gow, a

tailor from London, and a good man, and Elias Bond, a hatter, were deacons. Nathaniel Tilton was tavern keeper and deputy sheriff. Nathaniel Brown was baker and made good bread. Benjamin Davenport was hatter and made good hats. James Child a tailor made coats to fit lawyers and others. John Beman and Samuel Smith were tanners. Daniel Heard and others were shoemakers. Ebenezer Dole was silversmith, Mulliken, watchmaker. William Stickney was tobacconist, Abner Davenport, tallow chandler.

It was my good fortune to reside in Hallowell more than two years during the time of its greatest prosperity, when its reputation for integrity and veracity, good habits, intelligence, industry and civility was of a higher grade than in any other place within my knowledge; and while I give Farmington the credit of being the pleasantest village in the state, in other respects Hallowell, while I lived there, had the preferences, and I left the place with some regret.

The prosperity of Hallowell received a severe check by the embargo of 1808, and the war of 1812. The adjoining places, after the war, took a start and have outstripped her and left her in the background. The worthy men of 1807 who were then in active life have all died and left but few descendants to take their place. The lower strip, which originally was ten miles square, has been bisected and dissected, and now constitutes one city and three towns. The part which retains the original name, and now a city, contains in territory but about ten square miles instead of ten miles square, or but one-tenth part of the original territory. After leaving Industry, in 1813, I came to Norridgewock, where I have since lived, but have spent three winters in Portland, one winter and one summer in Augusta. During the last fifty-three years I have had full opportunity to form an opinion, and can say with confidence, that, except at the time of prosperity in Hallowell,

in the matter of good breeding Norridgewock excels all other places where I have ever been. The quiet and stillness of the village is noticed by all who visit the place. The moral character of the inhabitants and their habits are generally good, with but few exceptions.

Charles Vaughan, Esq., left a son, John Apthorp Vaughan, who was a fine scholar and an estimable man, whose features resembled his mother's, and his mild disposition also. He, some years after he graduated, established a school for young ladies near the centre of the village of Hallowell, which he taught with approbation and good success for several years. Being in the place on business, he took me in to see his school; the school-room was in the neatest condition, and furnished with all necessary books and apparatus, and was conducted in an admirable manner. Being an Episcopalian he took orders in the church when he left his school and was settled in Philadelphia, and died there recently. Mr. Vaughan had a daughter of like amiable manners, who married Jacob Abbott the well known author, residing in New York, and died in the meridian of her life and usefulness.

I could say much in commemoration of the memory of deceased friends who kindly aided me along in the journey of life, but I forbear.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

ÆT. 86 YRS. 8 MOS.

NORRIDGEWOCK, DEC. 17, 1866.

[When I came to Maine the county of Lincoln extended from the Atlantic to Canada, and all the county officers, except one in Woolwich and the Judge of the Supreme Court, resided at Pownalborough where the courts were holden. Justices of the Peace, (not as now,) were few and

far between. William Brookson, successor to James Howard, for a long time the only Justice above the shire town, married his widow and succeeded him as Justice at Cushnock. Jeremiah Fairfield was the Justice for Winslow, and next to him was Oliver Wood of Norridgewock, whose jurisdiction extended to the upper settlements, thirty miles. Robert Page was Justice at Readfield, and next to him was Moses Starling at Sandy River, near thirty miles distant. And so of other places.]

STATISTICS OF NORRIDGEWOCK.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM ALLEN, ESQ., WITH THE FOREGOING PAPER.

By the records and census of the town of Norridgewock it appears that from the incorporation of the town in 1788 to 1838, a period of fifty years, the number of births to each married couple average seven.

Charles Pierce and wife had fifteen children; one other couple had fourteen; two others had thirteen each; two others had twelve each; three others had eleven each; eight others had ten each; eight others had nine each; twelve others had eight each; eighteen others had seven each; eleven others had six each; nine others had five each; five others had four each; one other had three; two others had two each; one other had one only. Average seven to each couple.

From 1838 to 1860 parents over forty-five years:

One couple had ten children; four couples had nine each; four couples had eight each; four couples had seven each; twelve couples had six each; twenty-eight couples had five each; twenty couples had four each; seventeen couples had three each; sixteen couples had two each; nine couples had but one each; four couples had none. Average five or less.

I have had the records in my custody a long time, but may not be perfectly correct, and say, errors excepted.

The census of 1840 gave us 1865; of 1850 gave us 1848; of 1860 gave us 1900.

In 1849 the number of deaths was twenty-one, or one to eighty-eight, average age thirty-seven. In 1850, number of deaths,

seventeen adults and three children, total twenty, being one to ninety-two of the inhabitants, average age forty-eight years. In 1851, number of deaths, twelve adults and five children, total seventeen, being one to one hundred and nine, average age thirty-two years. In 1852, number eighteen, one to one hundred, average age sixty-three years, nine over seventy, six over twenty and under seventy, three under twenty years. In 1853, whole number twenty-seven, one to sixty-eight and one-half, average age forty-five and one-fourth years ; in 1854, whole number thirty-two, one to fifty-eight, average age forty-one years ; in 1855, whole number fourteen, one to one hundred and thirty-two, average age forty years ; in 1856, whole number fifteen, one to one hundred and twenty-six, average age fifty and two-thirds years ; in 1857, whole number twenty-eight, one to sixty-five, average age thirty-eight years ; in 1858, whole number thirty-three, one to fifty-seven, average age thirty-three years ; in 1859, whole number thirty-two, one to fifty-eight, average age fifty-five years ; in 1860, whole number twenty, one to ninety-four, average age thirty-two years ; in 1861, whole number twenty-two, one to ninety-one, average age thirty-two ; in 1862, whole number fifty, one to thirty-eight, average age thirty, (diphtheria ;) in 1863, whole number thirty-two, one to fifty-eight, average age thirty years ; in 1864, whole number twenty-eight, one to sixty-five, average age twenty-eight years ; in 1865, whole number twenty-one, one to sixty-one, average age forty-nine years ; in 1866, whole number twenty-two, one to eighty-six, average age forty-three years ; in 1867, whole number twenty-six, one to eighty, average age forty-three years.

Errors excepted.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

NORRIDGEWOCK, FEB. 18, 1868.

ARTICLE XVII.

POPHAM'S TOWN

OF

FORT ST. GEORGE.

BY RUFUS K. SEWALL, ESQ.,

OF WISCASSET.

MAP IN OUTLINE

OF
ANCIENT PEMAQUID KINGDOM

— INCLUDING —

MUSCONGUS & SAGADAHOC.



POPHAM'S TOWN OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

ANTECEDENTS.

IN May, 1605, following the track of the Concord, Gosnold, master, of 1602, the Archangel, Weymouth commander, being forced by embaying shoals and a most uncertain ground to stand off from Cape Cod in the midst of a gale of wind and raging sea, at evening twilight descried land. It appeared a "highland of the main in the N. N. East," but proved to be an island midway between the 43° and 44° north latitude, on the coast of Maine,—known to the French as *E. mmetinic*,* (and contracted to "*Pémquité*" and in English hardened into Pemaquid,) and thereafter applied to the nearest mainland, which, projecting five or six miles toward it into the open sea, forms a narrow cone-shaped peninsula. At its base winds a short, navigable river, whose waters are curved into a beautiful and deep harbor basin, as they pour into the sea by a passage not more than one hundred and fifty feet wide and many fathoms deep. Entering here, five of the natives of Pemaquid were captured, one of whom was a chief, and taken to England in the Archangel. Before this "Pem-

* "Capn. Plaistrier de Honfleur cy devant nommie voulant aller
"à Kenibequé, il fuit saisy prisonir pour deux navires anglays, qui
"estoiemet en un isle appelleé E. mmetinic 8 lieurs du dit Keni-
"bequé."

"aquid" had become known in the maritime transactions of Europe; and on the highest historical authority it is alleged that the discovery* of Pemaquid and the capture of its inhabitants form the initial period of New England colonization.

April 10, A. D. 1606, organized movements of the English race for actual possession of the continent of the new world in New England, in the right of that race, began to take legal form; and in 1607 the great commercial centers of England, Bristol and London equipped three vessels, the Gift of God and her tender, a fly-boat, and the Mary and John of London, and embarked an hundred and twenty subjects of "Great Britain," who were sent to execute the movements so organized; in the prosecution of which the colonial fleet reached the coast of Maine in safety; and made a landing in latitude 43° 44' north, at "Sagadahoc." Covering the Sagadahoc end of this expedition there has been an over-hanging cloud of uncertainty, shading the transactions, and leaving in doubt the fate of one of the leading vessels of the expedition; and the number and relations of the returning colonists; and the actual facts as to the result of the movement. The confusion is a natural incident to cross purposes and divided counsel of changed administration, or of partisan policy in the succession of a subordinate to authority.

The movements of the ship of the Popham command, the flag-ship of the expedition and her tender, after the Mary and John reached anchorage by her side at the site chosen for settlement; or their mission further; or their fate beyond the landing of the Sagadahoc emigration, have never been satisfactorily traced.

A series of facts exist however, in isolation, whose aggregation, in natural order, under logical relations, will

* Thornton's Ancient Pemaquid, Vol. V., M. H. Soc. Coll., p. 157.

throw clear and concentrated light into these beginnings of New England homes and history.

COAST PECULIARITIES.

The coasts of Maine for a degree and a half of latitude between $43^{\circ} 30'$ and 45° , have ever been remarkable, as well for physical features of sea and shore, as for historic nomenclature of aboriginal origin, wafted from ante-colonial periods.

Pemaquid, Sagadahoc and Muscongus are all names of remote antiquity, of native origin and import, designating contiguous sections in the above latitudes, notable in the beginnings of European life as points of eminent attraction, where the earliest fluxes of European emigration were felt. They were well known to European fishermen and fur dealers as eligible and eminently prolific in resources of commercial value, before the voyages of Champlain, De Monts, Weymouth, Popham and Smith. Originally Pemaquid was styled and ranked as a "Kingdom." Muscongus and Sagadahoc were its provinces and dependencies.

These grand old names covered the fattest fishing grounds and fur depots of these latitudes; and were tripartite centers of commercial industries and colonization at the opening of the English colonial epoch.

The exclusive possession and control of these territories were state prizes in the reign of Elizabeth of England and of James I.; and led to desperate, protracted and bloody contests, settled with Spain in the catastrophe of her great Armada, by force of then aval achievements of Drake, 1688; and with France on the heights of Abraham, before Quebec in September, 1759, between the English General Wolf, and Montcalm of the French.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The commercial treasures of Pemaquid and her dependencies, Muscongus and Sagadahoc, pertained to the

Baccalaan resources of these shores stocked with cod-fish; and had arrested the attention and excited the cupidity of maritime Europe, prior to A. D. 1565. "Spain and Portugal had grasped and divided these regions between themselves. The Pope made the partition by force of a "Vatican state paper called a 'bull.'"

Stimulated by greed of empire, provoked at the Pope's partiality toward Spain and Portugal, France and England controverted the right of this partition, and determined to get possession of that section of the new world covering the fat fishing grounds. Rival interests quickened the emulation of rival states.

INTERNATIONAL PROTEST.

France, by her king, Francis I., said in challenge of the rights accruing in virtue of this partition: "Spain and Portugal are quietly dividing the whole country of America between themselves, without allowing me to come in for a brother's share. I would be very glad to see the clause in Adam's will which makes that continent their exclusive inheritance."

England declared, "that discovery and prescription are of no avail unless followed by actual possession." This doctrine she prepared at once to enforce; and massed her guns and marshaled her naval force, to give the effect of international law to her common law formula, "*prescriptio sine possessione, haud valebat.*"

England immediately reduced her legal postulate to practice, in application of the theory of her common law title to real estate, to her trans-continental interests, in defiance and in derogation of the assumptions of the vatican and its legal maxims, under the Pope's vice-gerency.

INITIAL MOVEMENTS TO ACQUIRE TITLE.

In this behalf, on the tenth of April A. D. 1606, England opened contracts with her own subjects, known to

the law as a "charter," whose stipulations were conditional.

It was in terms a grant, covering agreements. "We do grant and agree," is the language of the compact. The tenor, in fact, was a royal license, hedged about with prospective grants, based on conditions to be fulfilled, adequate to the legal purposes of the government.

The transaction consisted of stipulations expressed and implied, which were conditions precedent to future and further concessions, to be made available to the grantees, on petition, after the fulfillment.

The transaction was the legal and formal conception of a valid and permanent title and possession in the new world, covering the purpose of practical and enduring defensible foothold of the English race upon it.

CHARTER PURPOSES.

The object of the stipulations was expressly declared to be "*Making of habitations, by leading out and planting colonies, subjects of Great Britain.*" The grantees were termed "adventurers;" and were organized into bodies corporate. They were required "to build and fortify" where they should inhabit; and their colonies were to be "*of such and so many of the subjects of Great Britain as should willingly accompany*" on their voyages thither. The adventurers, by the terms of their contract with government, were restricted to a *voluntary emigration*; and this fact negatives every hypothesis of "legal enforcement" of the men they should lead out of England, as illegal; and George Popham and Rauleigh Gilbert were leading associates and executive agents, as parties to the Royal License of April 10, 1606.

They were allowed any place on the coast, where they should think fit and convenient, between limitations of latitude below the 45° north, and required there to make their abode and begin habitation.

Permanency of possession, homestead establishment alone, could fulfill the conditions of their undertaking.

The salient points of the contract of April 10, 1606, for seizing and holding actual possession at or near the 44° north latitude, are clearly made. English emigration, domiciliation of the race, military occupancy at points fit and convenient, in and about the above latitudes, on the shores of the new world, were the declared purposes, both of the English government and its grantees, the adventurers of this charter.

Such an emigration with purposes aforesaid accomplished, insured under stipulation, that, on petition in that behalf, George Popham, Rauleigh Gilbert, "*their heirs and successors,*" should be endowed with plenary rights to the fruits of their undertaking, in a crown deed or "Letters Patent," of the country by them so seized and occupied.

Such were the charter conditions of the voyage of Popham and Gilbert, made in pursuance of the contracts aforesaid.

EMBARKATION.

They set sail from west of England in the spring of the year ensuing, (1607,) taking their departure from Plymouth in three vessels,* one from London, and with a west of England and London emigration combined. They landed at Pemaquid, and debarked in latitude 43° 44' north, at "Sagadahoc,"—a precinct of the Pemaquid country,—fortified the peninsula of Sabino,—and from thence distributed their colonists in conformity to their stipulations, in execution of the contract of April 10, 1606, and so as to hold the Pemaquid country,—beginning with the erection, in August, 1607, of Popham's town of Fort St. George.

* Gorges.

LOCATION.

The out-going floods of the Androscoggin and Kennebec Rivers and their tributaries, enter the sea by two channels, in a single volume of water known as "Sagadahoc," meaning "going out of waters into the sea." The Sagadahoc is the direct and main course of the out-going waters of the above confluent; and the by-river "Sasanoa," sometimes called Hellgate or Hockamock, is an effluent of the same body of waters through Sheepscot Bay, into the sea eastward. The shore of the bay intervening between the two outlets, spreads into a beach of white sand and shells, known, time out of mind, as "Sagadahoc beach."* The west shore of the main channel at the sea, has been curled by opposing tides into a peninsula, an hundred acres or more in area, called in the earliest aboriginal days, "Sabino," and so called when occupied by the Popham colonists. It is a drift of sand, shells and earth, beaten in about the roots of granite headlands, with a fresh water lakelet, fringed with a broad, white sand beach upon the sea front. These interior tides rushing through the channels of the Sagadahoc between rocky rounded islets into the sea, and which recoil upon the shore in breaking surf, filter through the sands, and fill the little pond of fresh water on the beach. The mountainous and lighted cliff tops of Seguin Island pile sheltering rocks seaward; and mighty granite bluffs environ the rear. Here the expedition sought a lodgement upon Weymouth's "so beneficial and "goodly a river, 'Sagadahoc.'"

ABORIGINAL IMPORTANCE.

The native wildness of the site gave it singular attractiveness, presenting a landscape of open forests, towering pines below, and hilltops over-grown with beech and oak

* It has two mouths, tolerably large, at least two leagues distant, the one from the other.—[Baird's Voyage to Quinibequi.

above, and on either side a skirting of clear, grassy margins of sand and shells, in a sweep seaward on its northern front. It was, therefore, a favorite camping ground, of which the indications in 1857 were most marked and decisive. The peninsula in aboriginal grandeur, must have been a spot of distinguished attraction to the natives. The vestiges of aboriginal occupancy are peculiar. There would seem to have been manufactories, arsenals of the savage hosts of the Sagadahoc, where arrowheads, stone axes and spears were blocked out, and hewn or broken into shape and fitness for war or the chase.

The northern sweep of shore here has undergone a considerable change within the past quarter of a century and more, and since it was studded with the lodges of aboriginal artisans. When it was examined, in 1857, this margin was broken into sand heaps, rolled and gorged by bleak winds. Since the sheltering background of forest pines have been cut and cleared away, and the United States' works and fishers' cots have been put up, about the sand heaps, chipped rocks, arrowheads, spear blades, &c., in every stage of manufacture, and of great variety in material, have been found,—relics suggestive of the industries of aboriginal workmen. Also human bones, it is said, and of unusual size, have been unearthed in the gorges of the sand hills; but no considerable remains of edible shellfish, the refuse of human food, here appear.

The chips, fragments, remains of stone-wrought tools and weapons of death, and human remains, alone distinguished the site as a place of aboriginal importance. The peninsula of Sabino must have been the scene of aboriginal industries in the manufactures described, anterior to the advent of European colonization, else some notice or record would have come down to us. Indeed it was a month and a week after the landing of the English here, ere they met the river natives; and then, at even-tide, voices of broken English, echoing from an opposite shore,

startled the English ear in 1607. It turned out to be a call of certain "salvages;" and by morning light a "canoe" appeared; and in her a Sagamo who told the planters his name was Sebanoa, and that he was lord of the river of Sagadahoc. "These were stranger Indians, able men, very "tall and strong, and such as the like before had not been "seen." Although the advent of the white man had been welcomed at Pemaquid, at Sagadahoc it had awakened suspicion, excited fear, heralded perils. The natives greeted the English here with ominous tales of cannibals* living near Sagadahoc, with teeth three inches long." The oyster deposits of Damariscotta, shell heaps of Ped-coke-gowak, the offal remains of the populous "Arambec," the pottery, copper ornaments and implements among these shell heaps, and the remains of Menikuk, the darts, bone stilettos of these neighboring Pemaquid localities east, are not found at Sagadahoc. The races were different in character, taste and habits. The peninsula of "Sabino" was the seat of a more barbarous, but skillful people, manufacturers of rude arms.

DEBARKATION.

August 17, O. S., three sail, the Gift of God and her tender, flag-ship of the expedition, and the Mary and John of London, lay at anchor; the former in the haven of Sabino in shore; and the latter outside under Seguin.

Driven about in the bay east of Seguin for two days, in a mighty storm and a south gale which came on at midnight, nearly wrecked on a lee shore, standing off and on, the ships had found shelter in "Cape harbor," under the "Cuckolds," described as "two little islands, all rocky and "full of pines, where three savages had taken refuge," and some six miles distant from Sagadahoc. From thence, with wind off shore and fair, the ships had run over to the

* M. Hist. Coll., Vol. ii. Folsom.

main entrance of the Sagadahoc, the morning of the fifteenth, and entered the mouth of the Kennebec. "At the "mouth or entry of the river," says the journal of this voyage, "on the west side, a spot, almost an island of good "bigness," was selected for the site of the fort and town. The chief in command, Popham, in his pinnace with thirty men, and his subordinate, Gilbert, in his long boat with eighteen men, first landed and made the choice. They were two days about it. But on the nineteenth all went on shore. The first act of colonial inauguration was the worship of God, in which all joined; and here religious services were first held upon the main in New England, in the English tongue. A sermon was preached. The commission was then opened and read; and a code of laws promulged. A president, as chief magistrate, was nominated; five assistants sworn in; and the civil organization was completed. So the soil of New England then and there was consecrated to the use of English homes, and set apart to the English race in a civil polity, founded in religion and law. This being done, all returned aboard again. The persons inducted into office were, George Popham, president; Rauley Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlow, master of ordinance; Robert Davis, sergeant major; James Davis, captain of the fort; Richard Seymour, chaplain; Elias Best, marshal; and George Carew, searcher. An hundred and twenty persons were present to participate in the inaugural services.

On the twentieth all again landed, and broke ground for entrenched works. The ensuing week was consumed in work on the fort. A store-house was erected. Digby of London as master carpenter, laid out a ship-yard, stretched the keel, and put up the frame of a thirty ton vessel. These industries filled up the time of the colonists for about four months, or to the thirteenth of December; in which time the fort was fully finished, entrenched and fortified. Twelve guns were mounted. Fifty houses,

besides a church, were erected within the lines. The colonists must have had the means of cutting boards and plank or they could not have built their vessel; and there is no evidence that their houses and church were mere log cabins. An idea of the English village fashion of that age, may be formed, perhaps, from that of the sister colony in South Virginia, settled the same year at the mouth of James River. A triangular fort with half-moon batteries for artillery covered each corner. Two rows of houses of framed timber, some two stories and a garret above, with three large store-houses joined lengthwise, newly and strongly empaled, made up the village outline of the sister State of Virginia; and Popham's town was without doubt like it. On the fifteenth of December, the "Mary and John," Captain Davis, was dispatched to England, bearing the first state paper written in America,—a message from President Popham to James I., of England, announcing to government the present success and future promise of the state establishment. These transactions closed the year 1607.

A. D. 1608, February 5, the first great calamity occurred in the death of their aged and good President Popham. The naked fact of his decease at his post, is all that history has preserved of this untoward event. Before the return of Captain Davis with spring supplies of provisions, arms, tools, &c., some others had died; but *all things at Sagadahoc were found then in good condition, many furs stored, the new vessel finished, launched, and called the Virginia.* This vessel, for years afterward, freighted between England and Jamestown.

But Admiral Gilbert, who had succeeded President Popham in authority, and who represented the London interest in the new town, had determined to resign his trust and go home to England; and his determination in the premises seems to have influenced his co-residents at Sagadahoc to abandon with him their town. So all of the

Sagadahoc people embarked with him in the newly built Virginia and the newly arrived ship, and set sail for England. Thus was vacated the Sagadahoc settlement of this colonial adventure. Harlow's relation is, that the experience of so "frozen a winter," and shortness of provisions, "*sent all back to England but forty-five.*"*

The country and rivers had been explored by the colonists in the mean time, westward to "Richmond's Island;" and eastward beyond Pemaquid. Courteous and friendly relations existed with the natives, especially eastward. The Pemaquid people were free and friendly, more so than the dwellers on the Kennebec and Androscoggin.

They visited the new English town of St. George without distrust, projected trade, fostered interchange of courteous civilities. The Sabbath was honored by the Pemaquid people, who went with the colonists to the place of public prayers and in divine service in the new-built church, they appeared in silence, with reverence and respect. The first landing of these colonists on the main in New England was at Pemaquid. Here the English first slept ashore, and made the acquaintance of the noblest chieftains of the King of Pemaquid, (the Bashaba,) Sasanoa his brother, Amenquin his son, with Sebanoa, lord of the river of "Sagadahoc." The Sabbath at Sagadahoc was duly kept to God's honor, in services, morning and evening; and, without doubt, according to the venerable and decorous and reverential and exact formularies of the Church of England,—whose grand and devout and impressive worship of the true God, here first awed the savage mind, and touched with reverential power the savage heart. The fear and worship of God were marked features of Popham's administration at Sagadahoc.

It is indeed true that the above record has had a tradi-

* Smith's Hist. Va., Vol. iii., p. 174. Harlow's Relation and Prince's Annals.

tional or partisan coloring of details of treachery, disaster, anarchy and wrong; and Abbott has loosely gathered, exaggerated, embellished, and promulgated these colorings as veritable history, the only foundation for which is savage rumor.

ENGLISH TRADITION.

A sailor reported an old Indian story, that a quarrel ensued between the natives and settlers at Sagadahoc, in which the Indians killed some of the English, and drove the rest out of their fort; others, that the storehouse was burned, in consequence of a cannon trick.

But none of these waifs of tradition are consistent with the narratives of cotemporaneous history, and could not have occurred prior to the reëmbarkation of the Gilbert exodus from Sagadahoc, in 1608. The sailor's yarn has been supplemented with a cannon story and powder scene, explosions and repentance, mere local waifs of very uncertain origin.

FRENCH TRADITION.

The archives of France are disclosing more authentic matter. Father Baird* was at Sagadahoc in February, four years after its abandonment. He observed its strategic relations and criticised them; and gives the following tragic rumors current among the Armouchiquois, or Androscoggin Indians, concerning the abandonment of Sagadahoc. The Indians said "the English had at first "a good man at their head, and his people treated the "natives well."

But the river tribe of the Armouchiquois feared the neighborhood of such strangers; and by enchantment and magic art caused the death of their leader. Under another leader the *English changed their ways*,—were rude, abusive,

* French were here soon after Popham's party left.—[Hubbard's N. E., 37.

and ill in their conduct. The unneighborly apprehension pressed the restless savages, impatient of the presence of the strangers in possession of their thoroughfare to the sea, and they resolved to "kill the cub before its teeth and "claws had grown." The opportunity offered. The vessels of the colonists had left the fort and gone into the bay to fish. They were three in number. The conspirators, with savage subtlety, pretended friendship, stealthily followed, and with unwonted friendliness approached the unwary fishermen, and on a signal preconcerted, each savage having picked his man, put his knife to the hated white man's throat, and eleven were thus butchered in cold blood. Intimidated by these atrocities, the survivors abandoned Sagadahoc, and contented themselves next year in summer, in coming to the island of E. mmetnic, *i. e.* Pemquit or Pemaquid. Such are the traditions of 1609, from French sources.

If true, these rumors relate to some fragment or relic of the abandoning colony of 1608,—individuals of the Popham emigration, *who did not sail to England in the Virginia or Mary and John with the Gilbert return*,—perhaps the "forty-five" mentioned in Harlow's relation. Such a bloody catastrophe could not possibly have escaped the record of incidents at Sagadahoc, before and at the time of its abandonment, made by the English historians, Gorges and Strachey; but may have befallen any, resident at other points, who would have more or less frequented the hamlet at Sabino, as custodians of the property there, and to whose fate and fortunes, we have only here and there incidental references.

The result of the attempt of Popham and Gilbert, in behalf of the adventures to execute the contract of 1606, was a fortified town of fifty houses, a church and a ship-yard at the seaside, where the waters of the Kennebec enter the sea. Here was penned the first state paper, a dispatch to the king, the thirteenth of December, 1607.

Here died the venerable, respected and conscientious, God-honoring president, the chief magistrate of the newly organized state, on the fifth of February, 1608; and here was he buried, with all the honors, it may be presumed, incidental to his state and public relations and character. After the decease of the chief magistrate, his successor, Rauley Gilbert, on the return of the London ship, Captain Davis, with the London emigrants, set sail from Sagadahoc for England.

OTHER PLACES OCCUPIED.

But, A. D. 1619, in March, the petition contemplated in the contract of April 10, 1606, was presented to the privy council of the crown, by parties alleged therein to be heirs, assigns and successors of the grantees of 1606, viz: the adventurers Popham and Gilbert, and the colonists by them led out to Sagadahoc.

A hearing was had, and warrant thereupon was ordered; and Sir Francis Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, among others, were recognized by the government as heirs, successors and assigns, to the rights and benefits of the contract of 1606, and the adventurers thereunder; and on the third of November, 1620, "Letters Patent," as agreed upon in 1606, were duly signed, sealed and delivered to Sir Francis Popham and his co-petitioners. As a state paper, this transaction is recognized and known in history as the "Great New England Charter;" and is in law and fact the complement of the royal contract of April 10, 1606; and is related thereto as a deed to its escrow. The license of April 10, 1606, with its conditions precedent, the petition of March, 1619, and the royal warrant of issue of November 3, 1620, are but parts of one transaction, founded in licensure, extended by petition, concluded in execution of the muniments of title, before the common law statute of limitations of twenty years should intervene. The remarkable feature of the Great Charter is, that as a

state paper, it recites the conditions precedent of its grant, declares on the face of the record they had been fulfilled, and that "*the original grantees, their heirs, assigns and successors, had, in divers years past, discovered a place fit and convenient to lay the foundations of a hopeful plantation; had taken actual possession of the continent and settled English emigrants already, in places agreeable to their desires, in those parts.*"

Discovery, settlements, homestead establishment of English emigrants, were sole legal precedents of the grant. It had all been done prior to March, 1619. The fact stands on the face of the record; and in law the record is conclusive of the facts on its face. Therefore between April 10, 1606, and March, 1619, in and about the 44° north latitude, *more than one place* was inhabited by the English race. A voluntary English emigration had already settled in *places* agreeable to their desires, in virtue of the colonial undertakings of the Popham expedition of 1607, and growing out of that enterprise.

The compacts of 1606 had then borne fruit, and ripened into emigration and settlement.

WHEN AND WHERE?

Answer must come from the record of the public knowledge of the facts, current at and near the time. It may be gathered in the literature of the day and age succeeding. Cotemporaneous and summary statements of history in England, France, and elsewhere, will give it.

The record is, "that* to the north, in the height of 44°, "lyeth the country of Pemaquid, the kingdom wherein our "western colony upon the Sagadahoc, was sometime "planted;" and Pemaquid† was recognized as one of

* Strachey's Travels in Va. Hackluit Papers.

† Colonies: Pemaquid, Province of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island, New York, &c.—[Andros' Tracts, p. 23.

the ten colonies of New England, and so designated in 1690.

This is the earliest public English summary of the facts connected with the Sagadahoc colonial adventure.

The Popham and Gilbert colonists in fact, seized the "*Pemaquid country*;" and although located at Sagadahoc, their relations extended and spread into latitude 44°,—the latitude of Wiscasset, Muscongus, New Harbor of Pemaquid; and whatever may have been the fate of the central root planted in latitude 43° 44' north, at Sagadahoc, ramifications must have spread to other points north and east.

It is precisely here are found the relics and remains of a rudimentary European commerce and civilization. At Pemaquid are buried pavements, canals, mill-races, lead-works, tanneries, smitheries, mason work, monumental stones of the dead,—bearing dates from 1606 to 1610,—pipes and spoons of the Elizabethan age and manufacture.*

French authorities on English colonization assert "Pemaquid† to have been the first point which was occupied "by the English." The bay is described as "very wide, and "fine, good anchorage of five fathom; and opposite the "fort, within musket shot, close to the rocks."

Swedish historians aver, ‡ that, in 1606 and the year

* The great New England voyager says, Bristol merchants dispatched vessels, one of fifty tons and one of twenty-six tons and forty-three men and boys, 1603, of which Robert Saltern, who had made a voyage in the Concord with Captain Gosnold the year before, was pilot.

June 7, he touched the coast near the 43°, "found plentie of "most sorts of fish, a high country full of great woods, was kindly "used by the natives, who came in troops of tens, twenties and "thirties." He followed the track of Gosnold. "*New England "was brought out of obscurity, and afforded freight for near two "hundred sail of ships, where is now erected a brave plantation.*" —[P. 243, Smith's Hist. Va. Vol. i.

† Spelled Pemecuit.—[Mon's Cadilae's Report.

‡ Campanius' Hist., Brn. Telegraph.

following, a considerable number of people under Captain George Popham and Gilbert, settled themselves in New England; and after they found themselves comfortably established there, they built a town. After 1612, "a number of people went thither."

The ecclesiastical reports* of French missionaries of that day, "show that the English were resident at Pemaquid "1608-9."

Of the colonization at Sagadahoc, the French record avers,† "that the new colony fell into languishment," (not that it died out;) "and the several individuals who made "voyages during four or five years, brought little profit to "it until the voyage of Captain John Smith."

Hubbard, the early American historian of 1677, declares "the first place‡ ever possessed by the English in hopes of "making a plantation, was a place on the west side of "Kennebec, called Sagadahoc; and *that other places adjoining* "were soon after seized and occupied,—improved in trading and "*fishing.*" Sullivan gives it as the current tradition of his day, "that there were people at Pemaquid from the time "of Gilbert's possession. They were strangers, and did not "venture south till the settlement of Plymouth."

Such are the concurrent statements of published accounts in confirmation of the record of the state papers of 1620,—that before that time, and in virtue of the transactions and compacts of 1606, the English race *were already settled in places agreeable to their desires in these parts;*—and at and about Pemaquid, which stood as a separate§ and independent colony, these places are found. The colony of Pemaquid and the province of Maine, divided the territory of Maine.

* Jes. Relations. Memorial Vol., Brunswick Telegraph.

† French Encyclopedia of 1760, Trans. Dr. L. Woods.

‡ Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 246-7.

§ Andros' Tracts, p. 237, Vol. ii. Address of Gentry, merchants and als., of New England to the king.

The civil divisions of North America of that day, ranked Pemaquid a "kingdom." Muscongus, Sagadahoc, and the islands intervening, were provincial dependencies. Subsequently it was classed as a colony; then the County of Cornwall.

The Pemaquid country was, therefore, the objective point in the stipulations for occupancy under the royal licensure of April 10, 1606; and Pemaquid was the "locus *"in quo,"* where places fit and convenient to lay the foundations of hopeful plantations had been discovered, *taken actual possession of, and settled with people agreeable to their desires;* a port opened and fortified; trade established in conformity to the conditional undertakings of the Popham adventures, their heirs, assigns and successors.

PEMAQUID A CENTER OF TRADE.

To the Pemaquid region, then glowing with the exaggerations of new discovery, settlements, trade, and other incidents of permanent possession with the English race, the warrant of 1619, and the "Great New England Charter" of November 3, 1620, related in the recital of settlements already made, and of places desirable, fit and convenient.

Therefore it is not without just grounds that Thornton has declared that the discovery of Pemaquid and the capture* of its native inhabitants form the initial period of New England colonization.

The development of English life and civilization, at the aboriginal points of Pemaquid and Muscongus, made rapid progress.

SUMMARY.

The ships of the colonial expedition of 1607, which sailed from Plymouth in execution of the contracts of 1606, were

* Weymouth's voyage, Rosier's Acc't.—[Thornton's Ancient Pemaquid.

dispatched to the scene of the Weymouth voyage of 1605; and in the expedition was one of the Pemaquid natives captured by Weymouth on that voyage.

The Gift of God and her consorts, first cast anchor in the Pemaquid waters; and were there deserted of their native guide, the returned captive, who, at Pemaquid, joined his countrymen. The harbor of the peninsula of Sabino, as we have before shown, was their next place of anchorage for debarkation. It had attracted the emigrant colonists as a desirable place, where ground was broken on the twentieth of August. A permanent foothold was contemplated; and all the elements of English civilization in law and religion, the great civilizing forces of humanity, were here first combined and took organic form on the soil of New England; and a town of fifty houses, a store-house, a fort entrenched and fortified with mounted cannon, a ship-yard, with a thirty ton vessel, the Virginia, on the stocks, at once adorned the margins of the sheltering headlands of Sagadahoc.

It was the opening scene of English possession, industry and thrift. It was the colonial blossom of the first planting. Did it bear fruit?

It is charged with blight the next year. The narrative closes the account of English residence here, in the language following, viz: "The company by no means "would stay any longer, especially Captain Gilbert being to "leave them; wherefore they all ymbarqued in the new "arrived ship and the Virginia, and set sail for England; "and this was the end of the northern colony *upon the river "Sagadahoc."*

It was, therefore, the Sagadahoc River abandonment;—and, strictly construed, it relates to the departure of the colonists resident at that point, which is the emphatic feature of the statement. This narrative, for this reason, seems to be limited to transactions connected with the Gilbert administration, his ships and company, and to the

river Sagadahoc, and has no necessary relation, as it does not mention the Popham ships, to transactions connected with their movements or mission; or to transactions at other fit and convenient places adjoining, seized and improved in trading and fishing in the Pemaquid country, as related by Hubbard.

ABANDONMENT PROTESTED.

But the abandonment certainly was not concurred in by all the adventurers. The Popham influence being overruled, did not submit. Sir Francis, heir and successor to the Popham estate, would not acquiesce. "He* would not "so give it over," (*ie.* the settlement and trade of the country here,) "but taking the remaining ships and provisions of the company, *continued voyages to the coast for trade and fishing.*" The Popham family then persisted in the occupancy of the country; and their ships, which led the way in opening up its further resources, held the ground, but not at Sagadahoc.

An island, environed with mountain tops clad with tall forest oaks and pines, half a league in circuit and some fifteen acres in area, dividing a river channel east of Pemaquid into a cross, discovered and occupied by Champlain in May, 1604, had become the seat of a party of French protestants under DeMonts, a French protestant nobleman.

The seaward end of this island rolled naturally into a hilltop, was mounted with cannon, and crowned with a chapel in fashion a wigwam. The opposite end of the island was graded and entrenched and guarded by a fort; and between were the lodges of the Swiss, and other little houses, like a city suburb. At the brook on the main near, had been reared cabins for others. Here were one hundred colonists. The fort was solid carpenter work, which covered DeMonts' home,—and floated the flag of France above. A magazine of

* Plymouth Co. Relation, Vol. ii., M. H. C., p. 33.

like work, covered with shingles, stood in the rear and opposite the residences of Champlain and other noblemen of the party, where, also, was a covered gallery for work and amusement; and between the fort and platform for cannon, garden patches were all filled in.

It was a most elaborate colonial French establishment. Left by DeMonts for Port Royal, Plastrier of Honfleur held possession, 1608-9.

The rumor of English evacuation of Sagadahoc soon spread to the east, and into the French settlements at St. Croix, which were made four years anterior to the abandonment of Sagadahoc.

1609-10, Plastrier commanded at St. Croix, where he held Neutral Island in the interest of French colonization. It was his purpose to expand his authority, and stretch the scepter of the French crown over Sagadahoc and cover the passes to the magnificent Kennebec country.

He therefore planned an expedition from St. Croix, and embarked to seize the abandoned English homes. Arriving off Pemaquid, at the island of E. mmetinic, he encountered English ships. and was captured. They had letters of the King of England warranting what had been done, under which the English commander justified, producing the letters themselves; and there can hardly be a shadow of doubt that they were the "Letters Patent" of the royal license of April 10, 1606, which were the charter papers of the "Gift of God" and her consorts, in the Sagadahoc voyage of 1607, and which, the record shows, expressly authorized the act sought to be justified.

The French narratives of transactions at Sagadahoc in 1607-8-9, presuppose other points seized and occupied in virtue of the Sagadahoc expedition, and a continued, though languid colonial existence. Smith's voyage, which that account notes as a quickening force to that existence, was made six years after the abandonment of Sagadahoc. It was made, not to the Sagadahoc site of the English

settlement of 1607, *but to the ancient E. metinic* (now Monhegan,) the great landmark in the direct track of European voyages, a dependency of Pemaquid, and a quarter of a degree north and east of Sagadahoc. This island is an insular, truncated mountain top, between which, and the fragments thereof, is a remarkable harbor of refuge; and the island, without doubt, gave its Franco-Indian name to the contiguous projecting mainland, stretching into the ocean toward Europe, beyond all other mainland projections of the North American coast; and into its little harbor Smith moored his two ships from London, in the summer of 1614, freighted with goods for trade in furs. This he found profitless, as he says, "because of the 'pre-absorption of that trade by the Pophams, in 'a port' 'on the main opposite.'"

PEMAQUID PORT DISCOVERED.

His language is: "Right on the main against us, Sir "Francis Popham's ship was in; and had such acquaint-
"ance, haveing used that *port* only for many years, that
"most part of the trade was there had by him." Smith was obliged to go to gardening and boat building at Monhegan, and launched seven. Some of his men he kept fishing. The others he used in coasting the main westward to Cape Cod and beating up trade and gathering freight, and so made up cargoes for his homeward voyage, of great value. This voyage was in the interest of London. Gilbert and Digby, in the right of the interest of that city, had, by their abandonment of the fort and ship-yard of Sagadahoc, not only severed the interest of the late company operations there, but had offended the Popham influence in that undertaking, represented by the heir-at-law, Sir Francis, who would not give over the enterprise,*

* Gorges. Plymouth Co. Relation, Vol. ii., M. H. Coll., p. 33. Sir F. Popham, having the ships and provisions of the Co. which *remained*, sent divers times to the coast for trade, &c.

but withdrew his father's ship and freighted her on his own account, under Captain Williams; and which, without doubt, was the ship found by Smith in port at Pemaquid, in the exclusive control of the trade of the main there.

The intrusion of Smith, under the circumstances in the interest of the London trade, into *Popham's port* at Pemaquid, would have divided the trade Popham's perseverance and enterprise had created, and would, therefore, have been a trespass. These facts and theories concur with the French version of the Sagadahoc enterprise. If that enterprise in 1607 died out at Sagadahoc, and the operations of the adventurers as a company there closed, it must have survived at Pemaquid, (although a languid exotic,) in the personal and private enterprise of the Popham family with the Popham ships alone, till the quickening force of the profits of Smith's voyages moved English commercial circles at London, to active coöperation.

CHARACTER OF ITS BUILDINGS.

In 1677, Hubbard declares "there had been at Pemaquid "for a long time, seven or eight considerable dwellings,"—*ie.*, old homesteads in his day. They were not warehouses, but dwellings;—not log shanties,—fisher's huts,—but "*considerable establishments.*"

There must have been other buildings of lesser note, of humbler pretensions,—for convenience of trade, use of laborers, artisans, ship stores, fishermen and furriers, of equal antiquity, probably ante-dating the considerable dwellings, and making the port of 1614 a freight depot of the Popham ship.

THE OWNERS OF SAGADAHOC AT PEMAQUID.

It is certain immediately after the English evacuation of Sagadahoc, Plastrier, in the interest of France, purposed a reoccupation of the Sagadahoc hamlet. Off Pemaquid, in execution of the design, he was captured by English ships,

and forced to abandon the attempted intrusion; the commander of the vessels, producing letters under seal of the English crown, authorizing the force and violence, who at the same time informed Plastrier "*that they were masters of the place,*"—a declaration founded on the fact that he and his ship's company, by possession or occupancy, and labor there in building up Sagadahoc, gave a natural right to the place, as their own establishment.

The licensure of 1606 covered the acts of the captors; and the actual possession of the Sagadahoc section of the Pemaquid country in 1607, made the adventurers of that licensure, their heirs, assigns and successors, *masters of the place, under English law.*

FLAGSHIP OF POPHAM EXPEDITION AT PEMAQUID.

The capturing ship was a government vessel, or she would not have been armed with "royal letters," nor have assumed to act as she did in the arrest of the French colonial agent.

There is no evidence the "Gift of God" or her tender, the flagship of the expedition and the Popham ship, were disabled, wrecked, lost, or had become unseaworthy on this voyage; or that they, or either of them, returned to England from Sagadahoc before or after abandonment.

There were no other Popham ships in the Sagadahoc expedition; and if Sir Francis, in disgust at Gilbert's course, withdrew the ships and provisions, or supplies, of his father's estate, and put the leading ship in trade at Pemaquid, it must have been the "Gift of God;" and that ship, with her tender, 1609-10, armed with the "Letters Patent" of her charter, for the original voyage, would have been in condition to arrest Plastrier, and defeat the purpose of the French occupancy of the abandoned English homes and fort at Sagadahoc. The presumption is conclusive that the flagship of the Popham expedition, the Gift of God, thus stood sentinel over the abandoned fort of St.

George, and the English interest of Sagadahoc; and was also the ship Smith found in "port" on the main over against Monhegan, in the service of Sir Francis, 1614, and which had been kept in business there, alone, for some years prior;—there being no evidence there were any other ships in the interest of the Popham family, engaged in the Sagadahoc colonization.

INFLUENCE OF THE POPHAM TRADE.

That the fisheries and fur trade of the "Popham voyages," gave considerable impulse to colonization,* is matter of public record;† and these voyages were made to the main under Monhegan, which is Pemaquid.

Its stimulus, 1614, had concentrated a commercial depot there, as a trade center, which controlled it all. The port there had so long been preoccupied in the interest of the Popham estate, it was found impracticable by Smith, to secure a diversion in his favor.

Therefore, in May, 1614, there was a port at Pemaquid of some years' standing, and a Popham ship in trade therein, and in control of a somewhat exclusive and extensive business connection with the country; and it is not improbable that the seven or eight considerable dwellings of ancient standing in 1677, adorning and distinguishing this port, were exponents of its earlier commercial industries.

VALUE OF ITS EXPORTS.

The Pemaquid country and its surroundings, in the graphic accounts of that day, showed "high, craggy cliff "rocks, stony isles,"—the early voyagers "wondering such "great trees could grow upon them." The sea there too, was "the strangest fishpond ever seen. The coast moun-

* Major's Introduction. Tra. in Va., p. 17.

† Strachey's Tra. in Va.

"tainous, and isles of huge rocks, overgrown with most
"sorts of excellent good woods for house building, the
"building of boats, barks or ships, with incredible abun-
"dance of most sorts of fish, much fowl, and sundry good
"fruits; a region where the natives take and kill most of
"their otter."

Compared with Newfoundland, the fisheries of Pemaquid were reputed fifty per cent more valuable. "A hundred fish from its waters, were, in marketable worth, equal to two hundred of the eastern catch, with half the labor in curing, and a whole voyage, in season, earlier." "Scarce anyone," continues Smith in the record of his experience here, "will go beyond the port they fish in, within a square of three leagues, where five hundred sail may have freight."* All these allegations relate to the resources and surroundings of the port, where Smith found Popham's ship in trade in 1614; and this was a port of the Pemaquid country,—the "coast of the hillocks," known to the Spaniards,—and where they had been and gone, prior to 1607, and left their fishing shallops behind to the natives, who had learned to handle, sail and manage with grapnel at sea.

The "Treasurer," one hundred and thirty tons, carrying fourteen guns and sixty men, Captain Argall, harbored here the year before Smith did,—and from thence made an attack upon the French settlements† east of Pemaquid,—destroyed all that remained of DeMonts colony at St. Croix, and broke up their trading post at Penobscot, capturing their vessels, a ship and her pinnace. The port under Monhegan, its surrounding of fisheries and fur trade,—had become attractive in the largest commercial centers. Two ships from London and six from Plymouth, sailed for the Pemaquid country in 1615.

* Smith's Description of N. E., pp. 188-242.

† Shea's Charlevoix.

NACHEEN'S VOYAGE.

The Nacheen* of Dartmouth, of two hundred tons, Brawnde, master, made Seguin the 20th of April, and reached Monhegan the 24th. A fleet of twenty-four sail made their voyages there the same season; among which the Blessing, the David of one hundred and forty tons, the Trial and the Judith are mentioned. The Plymouth and the London fleet returned fully laden with back cargoes. The Nacheen had large store of freight for trade, to be delivered to a pinnace sent out to meet her at the rendezvous at Monhegan, or the Damariscove Islands, both dependencies of the Pemaquid country. The tender did not arrive till the last of June, and then was wrecked. Moreover, Sir Richard Hawkins, president of the Plymouth company, was at Monhegan, and took from the Nacheen her fishing boats. This made it necessary for Captain Brawnde to build others. These adverse circumstances delayed and damaged the voyage. In his narrative of his experiences and observations at and about Monhegan, in the Pemaquid country, Brawnde wrote home to England, "that great voyages in fish and furs could be made here, "if not spoiled by too many factors, and bad faith with the "Indians."

He extolled the fisheries, declaring them superior to those of Newfoundland, especially in size and fatness of the catch. He describes the country to be healthful; the natives as gentle-natured, and disposed to be on terms of intimacy and friendliness with the English. †

* Brande Selin, Hist. Gen. Register, No. iii., p. 250. Sept. 1874.

† At this date the great and decisive Tarratine war with the Wawenock race was raging around the seat of the Bashaba of Pemaquid, in which the domination of the dynasty of that sovereign was terminated, and the race scattered.—[Prince's Annals, p. 43.]

MONHEGAN ISLAND A TRADE STATION, A. D. 1616.

Pemaquid had, by the enterprise and perseverance of the Popham interest and family, reached a point of attractive commercial eminence in 1614, which soon called into activity the leading mercantile commercial influences of London, as well as Bristol, England.

At this date Sir Ferdinando Gorges appears, actively, personally to engage in the commerce which had grown up around Popham's port on the main opposite Monhegan, with a view to private emolument. Gorges joined Dr. Sutcliff in the outfit of two vessels in execution of a plan projected by Captain Smith, on his last voyage, for the opening of a new depot for commercial adventure in the Pemaquid country. One of these vessels, the *Vice-Admiral*, was two hundred tons, and the other fifty tons. Thomas Dermer was put in command of one, and Captain John Smith of the other.

The diversion and concentration of trade at Monhegan Island, or the fishing islands adjacent to Pemaquid, near Popham's port on the main, were the avowed purposes of the enterprise,—the design seeming to be the creation of a new, if not rival center for the Pemaquid trade and fisheries.

The ships sailed together. One hundred and twenty miles out, Smith strained his masts, which were broken in a gale, and his vessel was driven back to port. Dermer escaped, and made a successful voyage, executing his commission, left his vessel at the "usual place" to finish her voyage, which she did, and returned to London fully and profitably laden. To escape the inconveniences, expense and delay of the absorption of the native trade at Popham's ship's port on the main, encountered in his first voyage there, Smith had projected the expedition covering the fruits of Dermer's enterprise; and to assure its success, he says, "he made an arrangement with a proud

"savage, and one of the greatest lords among them, Nahanada." This was the savage Sagamore in command at Pemaquid when Popham and Gilbert touched there in 1607.

The fruits of the Dermer voyage were homesteads around Monhegan Island harbor, and of its island surroundings, all dependencies of Pemaquid. Thus a new depot for trade and freight,—island ports,—in the interest of Gorges, appeared.

Gorges, therefore, was the founder of the Monhegan and adjoining island settlements, as Sir Francis Popham had been that of the main-land port of Pemaquid,—and at what was in 1625, and is still known as "New Harbor,"—a beautifully situated cloven inlet, of two small harbor openings on the east shore of the Pemaquid point at its base. Neither of these establishments were corporate or colonial enterprise, but the fruits of private adventure, as freight stations for English voyagers and fishermen, and had their beginnings in the colonial adventures of 1607.*

With Popham's port, New Harbor, on the main peninsula of Pemaquid, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges' plantation, with its insular surroundings, we take a new departure, from whence, to observe the growth of the country and the view, becomes more definite in outline, and distinct and traceable in detail.

* Thomas Hunt, the kidnapper, was concerned in these transactions, with a view to thwart Smith's purpose of opening a new port of trade. Hunt says, he, "thinking to prevent the interest, I had "to make there a plantation, &c." Stole several of the natives and sold them into slavery.—[Smith's Description of N. E., p. 176.

ARTICLE XVIII.

MEMOIR OF
COL. BENJAMIN BURTON.

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, Esq.,

OF BELFAST.

COLONEL BENJAMIN BURTON.

BENJAMIN BURTON was born in the old block-house in Thomaston, on the ninth of December, 1749. He resided the greater part of his life four miles below that place, in the town of Cushing, and died at Warren, May 23d, 1835, aged eighty-five years. His grandfather, of the same name, was a native of Wales, and was in Cromwell's army when he reduced the Irish to obedience under the Commonwealth. His son Benjamin, at the age of twenty-one years, was induced to emigrate to the province of Maine, by General Waldo's Proclamation, which young Burton had seen, and which offered lands in the Waldo Patent, without price, to actual settlers. He embarked with his father and many others, and landed at St. George's River, in 1736. His father died during the passage. In the celebrated expedition against Louisburgh, in 1745, the son was a lieutenant, and as such acquired considerable credit. On his return, the command of the block-house at St. Georges, now Thomaston, was assigned him; Jabez Bradbury being at the same time captain of the fort, and, prior to hostilities, which, in August of that year, were declared against all the tribes, being also truck-master. On the following month a large body of the Tarratine Indians, who were probably not aware of the declaration, encamped in the vicinity of the fort, to which they sent four principal chiefs or sagamores, who had assumed English military titles, to

procure ammunition. Struck with the perilous condition of these visitants, who were until then apparently ignorant of their danger, Bradbury ordered them to return directly to their companions, or they were dead men. But either through fatigue, or, more probably, an intemperate use of strong drink, they encamped on the margin of Mill River for the night. Learning their position, Captain Burton and Lieutenant Proctor of the militia, with a band of men, pursued and found them in their camp. One, whose name has not been preserved, having stepped down to the river for water, escaped. Burton, with a single blow of his sword, cut off the head of Captain Morris, one of the chiefs. Captain Sam, another one, was dispatched by Proctor, or some of the party. Colonel Job was taken prisoner and carried to Boston, where he died in confinement. Some regretted the event so early in the war, and so exasperating to the Tarratines. Others rejoiced, especially at the death of Morris, for "he had been a great terror" to the settlers. The son of Morris, in revenge for his father's death, frequently threatened to kill Burton, but never found an opportunity to execute his purpose. After the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1749, it was supposed that the war had terminated, and that the settlement at Broadbay, Waldo-borough, would be revived. The next spring, therefore, one Smith, a German, against the remonstrances of Burton and other friends, returned with his wife and her son to their old habitation in that place. His removal being known, he was followed by Indians who soon attacked his cabin, and by hurling torches against the roof, which was covered with spruce bark, endeavored to set it on fire. All such as took effect, Smith was able from the inside to thrust off, and thus avert the intended mischief. Unable to succeed in this manner, the savage assailants resorted to stratagem, by cowering down in silence and entirely out of sight. Smith, finding the attack had ceased, raised his head through the roof, when he received a ball in his neck.

The Indians then rushed into the hut, dispatched his wife and himself, and scalped them. Her son, Peter Canagh, who was lame, having been hidden in the cellar, was not injured, and afterwards returned safely to the fort. When the war had fully closed, about the year 1750-1, Burton settled in the present town of Cushing. Being a man of prudence, and fearing that peace would not continue, he judiciously and strongly fortified his habitation, whereby it acquired the name of "Burton's fort." Although always watchful of danger, he made a comfortable living for his family by cultivating potatoes, which with fish and clams constituted their chief means of support. In the French and sixth Indian war, which commenced in 1754, an expedient, adopted during the preceding one, and which proved effective, was now pursued to great advantage and extent. "When any of our men went from the fort, they "were flanked by some half dozen Newfoundland dogs, "which were trained to keep at the distance of a gun shot "from the party, in order to surprise any Indians lurking "about, or in ambush. Through fear of detection, the dogs "would rarely be fired upon, while they always gave our "men timely warning to defend themselves against any "Indians whom they might scent." At one time, when an alarm was given, Captain Burton and his wife, with four children, were at some distance from the fort. Taking one on his back, and one under each arm, his wife carrying a fourth, they all reached their home in safety. This worthy man was frozen to death, March 21st, 1762, by being caught in the ice in the St. Georges River, while in a boat. The snow at that time was four feet deep on the ground, and covered with a crust sufficiently solid to bear teams.

Such was the father of Benjamin Burton, the third of that name, who is the principal subject of this note and intended biographical sketch. He was left an orphan at the early age of thirteen. On the memorable sixteenth of December, 1773, happening to be in Boston, on a visit, he

went in the crowd to the old south meeting-house; and as soon as the patriot orator had closed his animated address, Burton heard the cry of "tea party, tea party." Touched with the spirit of the times, he joined in the enterprise, went on board one of the ships, and labored with his might between two and three hours in assisting to throw three cargoes of the detested tea into the water. The whole number of chests broken open and emptied was three hundred and forty-two. It being about low water, the tea rested on the bottom, and when the tide rose, it floated and was lodged by the surf along the shores. In September, 1776, Mr. Burton was commissioned a lieutenant in the continental army, and the following spring he received the appointment of captain in Colonel Thurburn's regiment in Rhode Island. Withdrawing from the service, July 14th, 1779, he returned to his home in Cushing. From April, 1780, he served as major about nine months in Maine, under General Peleg Wadsworth, and was discharged only a few days before that intrepid officer was taken prisoner and carried to Bagaduce, (now Castine,) on the eighteenth of February, 1781. By order of the British commander at that post, a flag of truce was sent to Camden at Wadsworth's request, carrying letters from him to his wife and to Governor Hancock, which were forwarded by Major Burton, then at Camden. After Burton's return home, and after he had conducted the General's wife and her friend, Miss Fenno, under a passport, to visit him in his confinement, the vessel of Burton was captured by the enemy near Monhegan. He was immediately conveyed to Bagaduce, and imprisoned in the same apartment with General Wadsworth. The latter thinks this occurred about the middle of April, 1781; Burton says it was in March. From reports and hints which were deemed authentic, both parties believed that certainly the General, and probably the Major, were to be sent, in convenient time, either to Halifax or to New York, and thence to England, where

they would be kept, and treated as prisoners during the war, the length and events of which were entirely uncertain.

They, therefore, soon formed a resolution neither to cross the Atlantic, nor to linger in protracted incarceration, and determined to escape, or perish in the attempt. They took a view of their geographical situation, with which both, and particularly the General, had previously been acquainted. Bagaduce they knew was a peninsula, a mile and a half in length from north-east to south-west, and about a mile in mean breadth, surrounded on all sides by water, except at its northerly part, where two coves from the east and west approximate each other within one hundred rods or less, having an isthmus or marsh by which the peninsula is joined to the main-land. The bed of the north-western cove, and the beach of the Penobscot, contiguous, were sandy, and uncovered at low water, the height of tides at that place being uniformly about fourteen feet. An escape was utterly impracticable unless effected in this quarter. The garrison was on crowning ground in the central part of the peninsula, between which and the isthmus, a distance of half a mile, were rocks, stumps and brush. In form the fort was tetragonal, with a bastion at each corner, constructed by an embankment twenty feet in height, exclusive of the exterior moat, guarded by pickets. The walls, which were secured by a friezing at the top, and c eveaux-defrieze at the bottom, were sufficiently capacious to contain a commodious block-house in the center of the area, containing apartments for officers and barracks for the soldiers. The prisoners' room was between two others severally occupied by the officers. One end of it was the wall of the building, the other formed in part the side partition of a long entry. From this the entrance was by a door containing a window sash, which was frequently opened by the guards. Without the fort, within, upon the walls, and near the doors of the block-house, sentinels were

posted, and also two in the entry near the prisoners' door. The gates were shut at sunset, and a picket guard was placed around the fort and towards the isthmus to prevent escape to the main-land.

From items of information acquired in replies to questions asked with apparent indifference, and from a refusal either to parol or exchange them, as had been formally proposed by Governor Hancock, the apprehension of the prisoners became strengthened into a belief that they were soon to be transported to some unknown destination. Hence, they justly inquired within themselves, "what are we to expect from such enemies, exasperated as they are by a war, expensive and hitherto inglorious to them, prosecuted, too, against men who are regarded as rebels? It is true, that, if we fail in our attempt to escape, chains and dungeons await us; but then at worst, our captivity, which is now grievous, will then only be galling." Thus wrought up to a desperation not to be expressed, and only equalled by the emergency, they formed their resolution with an unshaken firmness, and their plans with an ingenuity that nothing but the event itself could pronounce either wise or foolish; while the undertaking was exceedingly daring, if not highly presumptuous.

As their room was ceiled overhead with pine boards, they finally determined upon this plan of escape: to cut off one of them, and thus open an aperture sufficiently large for a man to pass through to ascend by it and along the joists over the officer's apartments, and lower themselves down silently into the entry by means of a blanket, thence pass directly across the intervening space and up the embankment, where, from their window, they had seen a travelled path; thence by further aid of their blankets slide down from the friezing into the ditch, and hasten to the beach at the westerly extremity of the isthmus, which at low water might be easily passed. They began upon the ceiling in the night with a penknife, but immediately found that the

strokes, by their sound made in the hours of silence, would assuredly betray them, as would their appearance in the daytime, unskillfully cut as they were in the dark. Thus defeated, they were convinced that nothing could be done upon the ceiling except by daylight; nor was there more than an hour of that time, namely, between twelve and one of the clock, while the officers were dining, that the work could be prosecuted, so frequently were they visited and viewed by their sentinels through the sash door.

Next, they obtained from Barnabas Cunningham, their waiter, a gimlet, for which Major Burton made him a present of a dollar, pretending it as a reward for his courtesy, rather than a price for the article. This, by their care, excited no suspicion, and even if it had been otherwise, they knew he would never make a disclosure which might give himself trouble. They began to use the gimlet as soon and as often as they dared, but the work went on slowly. Wadsworth, a man of middle stature, could, when standing on the floor, only reach the ceiling with the ends of his fingers. But Burton, whose height was about six feet and a half, could use the instrument without a chair. The work, therefore, devolved almost entirely upon him. It was important to make the most of their hour, and of the period when the garrison was under arms on parade. At those times, therefore, the waiters were purposely sent away on errands, and the prisoners commenced walking in their room, corresponding with the steps of the sentinels marching through the entry, all passing by the glass door together. It was soon ascertained, that, by a comparative adjustment of steps, and a mutual measurement of time and distance, the passage of their guards through the entry occupied twice as long as it did themselves to pace across their room. Therefore as soon as the prisoners and sentinels at the same moment passed the door in the same direction, Burton stopped short, turned his gimlet quickly, then withdrawing it, joined

Wadsworth in his second turn, he having continued his walk with a little heavier step than when alone, to give the sound of two persons walking. Thus the work was pursued from day to day, every perforation being filled with a paste composed of bread and butter. In three weeks the board was riddled with holes twice across, and the interstices cut, leaving only a few grains of wood at the corners to hold the piece in place. As Burton worked, his companion brushed into the fireplace with a handkerchief any chips or dust that fell upon the floor.

To prepare for their anticipated escape, they reserved from their meals bread and meat, which they dried. They also made from their firewood pretty large skewers, with which they intended to fasten the corners of their blankets to the stakes in the friezing on the top of the wall, and thus let themselves down the exterior embankment of the fort. Being now ready for their departure, every day and incident increased their anxiety. As the officers and other visitors were often gazing around the room, it was feared that the discoloration of the board by the butter, which composed the paste that filled the perforations, would betray them. In fact, some expressions had been dropped by officers, which, to the ever jealous minds of the prisoners, led to a suspicion that their design was known. They were also alarmed by a report that the privateer, which was to carry them away, was daily expected. Thus a long week elapsed, without a single night favorable for their escape, as they desired one which was dark and stormy.

At length, on the evening of June 18th, 1781, a violent tempest occurred, attended with profound darkness, intermitted with flashes of vivid lightning. At about eleven o'clock the lightning ceased, and the rain began to fall in torrents. The opportunity which they had so anxiously desired, they believed had arrived. They went immediately to bed, and extinguished their candle while the sentinel was looking through the sash door. In a short time both

arose and dressed themselves. At first Wadsworth in a chair, and then Burton on his feet, labored with the penknife, until, in about half an hour, they had cut out and removed the perforated board. Burton, the largest of the two, ascended through the opening with considerable difficulty. Wadsworth followed, but they saw each other no more during that fearful night. Burton crept silently along the joists over the officer's heads, let himself down into the entry, and thence proceeding through the square, ascended to the friezing on the top of the wall. While lying there and waiting for the General, he heard the voice of command at the opposite guard-house, "Relief, turn out." Supposing by this that his companion was detected, he immediately threw himself over the friezing, and seizing it fast with his hands gave his body a pendulous swing; then gently losing his hold, struck with his feet the chevaux-de-frieze unhurt. To avoid the sentry-boxes he proceeded down the hill over rocks, to the Penobscot at the north-westerly part of the peninsula, as previously proposed, "where the Americans landed in their first attack upon the "British, two years before." As it was now of the utmost importance to elude any search and pursuit which might be made, and although in his anxiety he had struck the beach too far down to the westward, he yet waded forthwith into the water, which, in crossing the cove, was up to his chin. Much deluded, feeling his way in the dark, and sometimes swimming, he did not reach the opposite shore until daybreak. He then travelled a mile or more along the eastern margin of the river. At a less distance than two gunshots he saw the enemy's barges, but which, evidently, had made no discovery. The rain had ceased, the opening morning was fair, and at sunrise he was safe on the bank of the river, perhaps seven or eight miles from the fort. His cup of happiness would have been full, had the General, whom he supposed retaken or drowned, been with him. While thus ruminating, he saw his fellow-

prisoner calmly seated beside a canoe. The joy of their meeting can be easier imagined than described.

Crossing the river in the canoe, they "landed at Sandy Point opposite, near the south end of Orphan Island." They then shaped their course through the woods towards Belfast, and crossing the river Passagassawakeag in a boat found there, took refreshments at the house of Mr. Miller, where the village now is. Through fear of seizure by the villainous tories, and of recapture by the British, they did not dare to stay over night in the house, but went a mile into the woods and lodged on the ground. The next morning they pursued their way to Canaan, (now Lincolnville,) then a plantation of three families, thence to Warren, and on the third day reached Burton's residence in Cushing.

Burton knew that the treacherous tories, if they heard of his arrival, would devise some scheme to retake him. He therefore remained at home only a single night, and then went to Boston. Not finding any vacancy in the army which he wished to fill, he took a commission of Captain of Marines on board of a twenty-gun ship, commanded by Captain Thomas Dinsmore. After cruising for about a month near Newfoundland, the vessel's course was shaped for Cape Clear, off Ireland, intending to intercept a fleet of merchantmen from the West Indies. In October, 1781, seeing four ships at the windward which they supposed were a part of the fleet, they stood for them. To their surprise they were found to be three British frigates and a sloop of war. Our ship, unable to escape, the wind blowing a gale, was taken, and her crew imprisoned in the castle of Cape Clear until the following February, after news had arrived of the surrender of Cornwallis. They were then removed to England, and confined in the old Dunkirk seventy-four, from which the overtures of peace set them at liberty. In an enemy's land, without money and without friends able to assist him, Major Burton succeeded in

getting a passage to L'Orient, in France, and thence in the frigate Alliance, Captain Harden, was brought to the shores of his beloved country, and landed at New London, in Connecticut. From that place, with only eight shillings in money, he accomplished a journey home, two hundred and sixty miles, before the end of May.

When the privations and perils of war were over, he, with many thousands, like the worthy Cincinnatus, returned to the plough, to enjoy, in straitened circumstances, and yet with a cheerful spirit, liberties and privileges, no less the bounties of heaven because they were the price of blood. Agriculture was his principal pursuit, although to some extent he engaged in navigation. On the reorganization of the militia under the statute of 1785, he was chosen lieutenant-colonel of the fourth regiment in the eighth division, and subsequently had command of it. He held his commission until 1796, when he resigned. The next year he was the representative of Cushing in the state legislature, the first one ever returned by his town. He was eight years a magistrate, and never filled an official position which he did not honor. But in no sphere were his credentials more heartily and justly awarded him, than by the christian community. For more than thirty years he was a devout professor of religion, and at the time of his death was a deacon in the Baptist church in Warren. He was married in Rhode Island, before he quit the service there. Two sons and four daughters survived him.

In person, Col. Burton was a tall, straight and large man, although in his latter days a little bent forward. His complexion was light and expressive; in motion and conversation he was quick and animated. In mind he was discerning, ingenious, and otherwise liberally endowed. He had a taste for the mathematics and for military tactics, and especially for reading the scriptures, and works upon history. Such was this worthy man, beloved by his acquaintances, useful to his country, and happy in his death.

ARTICLE XIX.

ACADIA AND ITS ABORIGINES.

COMMUNICATED JANUARY 16. 1862,

BY REV. EUGENE VETROMILE, S. J.,

OF WORCESTER, MASS.

ACADIA AND ITS ABORIGINES.

PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

THE Etchimins, Micmacs and Abenakis are very often considered as one nation, not only on account of the similarity of their language, customs, suavity of manners, and attachment to the French, but also for their league in defending themselves against the English. Although the Micmacs are generally somewhat smaller in size than the other Indians of Acadia and New France, yet they are equally brave. They have made a long war against the Esquimaux, (*eaters of raw flesh*), whom they have followed and attacked in their caverns and rocks of Labrador. Newfoundland must have several times been the field of hard wars between the Micmacs and Esquimaux; the latter were always chased by the former.

Their chief is called by some *Saghem*, by others *Sangman* (*over the whole world*), which is one and the same word, but differently pronounced. The wife, or wives of the chief have no power, but they take the title of *Sangmansque*, (*wife of him who is over the whole world*.) The sons are called *Sangmansis*, the daughters *Sangmanskwessis*, the relations *Sangmanhuagodek*. The office of the chief has never been hereditary amongst them, but he was elected amongst those Indians who had larger families. All, especially the youth, obeyed the Sangman with great

submission and respect. The chiefs of entire nations had other subordinate chiefs who presided over small tribes, and settled their difficulties. During the summer season all the chiefs assembled in a designated spot, in order to transact the business for the whole nation. Small quarrels were settled in the camp, and often finished in a fight, however without much hurting themselves. When the chiefs thought that they had received any wrong they assembled all their people in some fixed places, and to encourage them they made a speech, in which they displayed great eloquence. Then lifting up their axes the question was proposed, whether they would not all agree to take the injuries into their hands. If the whole company consented they made a mock skirmish among themselves as if they were in earnest. They also had recourse to their conjurors and fortune-tellers, who consulted the evil spirits.

Their bravery in war was great. An instance of it can be seen in the French war against the English, in the year 1689. In 1673 there was a French fort on the Penobscot, commanded by Le Chevalier De-grand-fontaine, and another on the St. John's River, commanded by M. Marion. In 1674, M. De Chambly succeeded Le Chevalier De grand-fontaine.* A short time after, in the same year, he was surprised, on the 10th of August, by an English vessel with a crew of a Flammish private, one hundred men strong, who had been laid in disguise there for four days. M. De Chambly was not prepared to fight. He had only thirty persons, yet they defended the fort bravely for one hour, but having received a musket ball through his body, he was obliged to retire, and the fort and his men, badly armed, surrendered to discretion. They took, also, the fort at St. John's, which was afterwards destroyed by the Dutch. M. De Chambly was surprised at this action, both countries being then at peace, and the author of this

* Charlevoix, Vol. i., liv. x.

outrage had no commission, but he had been put up by the Bostonians, who could not bear the French to have possession of the Penobscot. In 1689 the French complained of this act perpetrated by the English and Bostonians, but to no use, hence a war ensued in which the Indians joined the French. The Etchimens and Abenakis made an expedition against the English fort *Pemkuit*, (*it is crooked*,) a very strong fort between the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers. The fort was defended by twenty cannons. The Indians took it by surprise, breaking down the doors. The English retired to some near houses, carrying with them ten cannons, the others being taken by the Indians. The English opened a terrible fire upon the fort, but to no effect. During the night the Indians summoned the English to go away, but the commander laughed, saying that he was tired and wanted to sleep. During the night the Indians prepared themselves to attack the English in the morning, and they did so at the breaking of the day. A hard fire was kept up on both sides, but the English were obliged to capitulate, and the Indians let them go away without any commission of outrages. It is worth mentioning that the Indians found in the fort a barrel of brandy, which they spilled out without touching it. The English retired to an island not far from the coast. The Indians desired to drive them away from that place, but they desisted, and went back to the Penobscot in two sloops which they had taken away from the English, having killed the crew.

ASTRONOMY AND DIVISION OF TIME..

The Indians having no astronomical instruments, no observatories, no celestial globes and no maps, are not expected to have made such progress in astronomy, which exclusively seems to belong only to civilized nations. But to think that the aborigines of this continent were and

are altogether destitute of this science would be an error. True they have no astronomical instruments, and whether they ever had any is a question for the present involved in darkness. Yet nature has endowed them with senses very powerful, which they use with much skill and accuracy. They are great observers. Many small things, little circumstances, which generally pass unobserved to the white, are closely investigated and examined by them. They can discover the approach of their enemies, their number and distance. They can tell whether they have passed through a certain locality, what direction taken; and the place from which they came, by observing their footsteps, by examining the bending of the grass and bushes, by putting close to the earth their ears, and by the scent which has a great power. It is related that a Micmac Indian entered a Frenchman's house in Nova Scotia, and after a little while asked for some brandy. The Frenchman denied having any, but the Indian said that it was not true, and by smelling he discovered the place where the brandy was kept.

Except the religious ideas attached to the sun, we do not know that it was an object of astronomical observations to the Indians, but the moon and stars were and are closely examined by them. They can tell with great ease the parts of the day and night, corresponding very much to our astronomical manner of counting the time. They can indicate with great precision the rising and setting of the sun, of the moon, and of several stars of the first magnitude, and of some constellations. They paint out in some manner the degrees of their elevation upon the horizon, their zenith, etc. They had, and they use yet a kind of sundial, by observing their own shadow, and that of the trees. They can travel without difficulty or danger of ever being lost, through the thickest woods, even by night and when they can see no moon and no stars. They observe

the bark of the trees, and they can find some difference between that part of the tree turned to the south, from that turned to the north. The very shape of the tree can tell to the Indian the south from the north, the south side being more luxuriant, and the limbs larger and in better order.

Further investigations may decide whether the Indians had any idea of the movement of the earth round the sun. We know that Copernicus had found in the writings of the ancients that Nicetas, Heraclites and Ecphantus had thought of the possibility of the motion of the earth; and Aristarchus of Samos had taught that the earth revolves in an oblique circle around the sun, and also revolves daily on its own axis. It is related that amongst the Egyptian ruins, far before the time of Copernicus, a pictorial stone was found representing this system. Therefore it is possible that the movement of the earth, which was known in the east far before the time of Copernicus, might have been known, even to the Indians, who, with great probability, emigrated from the east.

I am not aware whether the Indians knew the polar star, but they can, with great distinction, point out the seven stars of the Great Bear, which never set. They can describe the circle performed by the last star on the tail of this constellation. They know the constellation Hyades, called by them *Menepessunk*, although they cannot tell that it is in the head of the Taurus. They look on the rising and setting of the Hyades as an indication of wet weather. They know the Pleiades, although they cannot say it is on the neck of the above-mentioned Taurus. They have the knowledge of the Lyre, of the Head of Medusa, of Orion, and of several other groups of stars. They can point out Sirius and other stars of the first magnitude. They are familiar with the Milky-way, of which curious and fabulous stories are related. The planet Venus, called by them

Msar'to, is well known to them, and its movements are an object of great observations, but I do not know that they can form a distinction between the planets and fixed stars.

But their great object from which they depend for their astronomical observations is the moon. It is from the moon that they can tell the kind of weather which they expect to have. From the moon they can foresee the approaching of a storm; from the moon the freezing of the rivers, the breaking of the ice, and the time when an icy crust will cover the deep snow on the ground. If the moon appears pale, it is for them a sign of rain or snow; if reddish, a sign of wind. If the aspect of the new moon is such as to appear as if it were lying on the earth, it is a sign of a stormy month; but if she presents herself as if standing upright to the earth, it is a sign of a fair weather month. The moon regulates the months and the year. Every month commences from the new moon, and terminates with it. They have, and had the idea of the four seasons, of the opening of the leaves, of the closing of the rivers by ice, of the breaking of the ice, of the warm weather, of the fall of the leaves and of the season of the frosts. The new year commences from the longest moon, that is, when the nights are the longest. The nights are the object of their calculations, no consideration being taken from the length of the days. But the Indians had no almanac, at least not in my knowledge. The one used at present has been introduced by me. For this object I have held several conferences with the oldest and most talented Indians about their astronomy, and we have agreed to fix the commencement of the new year permanently on the new moon preceding Christmas. This will facilitate to them the intelligence of the moveable festivals of christianity.

The names of the four seasons are the following:

Siquan (spring,) *niber* (summer,) *takwongo* (autumn,) *peboon* (winter.)

They count twelve months in the year, that is twelve moons, which are the following:

1. *Ketchikizooos*, (December,) *the long moon.*
2. *Onglusamwessit*, (January,) *it is very hard to get a living.*
3. *Taquasknikizooos*, (February,) *moon in which there is crust on the snow.*
4. *Pnhadamwikizooos*, (March,) *moon in which the hens lay.*
5. *Amusswikizooos*, (April,) *moon in which we catch fish.*
6. *Kikkaikizooos*, (May,) *moon in which we sow.*
7. *Muskoskrikizooos*, (June,) *moon in which we catch young seals.*
8. *Atchittaikizooos*, (July,) *moon in which the berries are ripe.*
9. *Wikkaikizooos*, (August,) *moon in which there is a heap of eels on the sand.*
10. *Mantchewadokkikizooos*, (September,) *moon in which there are herds of mooses, bears, etc.*
11. *Assebashwats*, (October,) *there is ice on the borders.*
12. *Abonomhsswikizooos*, (November,) *moon in which the frost fish comes.*

It is to be observed that the months of the Indians cannot correspond with ours because ours are established upon the system of the revolution of the earth around the sun, whereas those of the Indians are grounded upon the motion of the moon around the earth. It is also to be remarked that as in some years there are thirteen moons, so then the Indians enumerate, also, thirteen months in one year; but in order to avoid astronomical confusions, they skip the moon between July and August, which moon they call *Abonamwikizooos*, *let this moon go.* The month *Wikkaikizooos* then, will commence from the new moon entering in August. This correction in their calendar will bring the year back to end just at the new moon of *Ketchikizooos*, which is the commencement of the new year. The reason why they skip the moon between July and August, rather than any

other moon, is because the Indians do not take much notice of the season having very short nights, and especially when it is not their hunting season, and when the berries are already ripe. However, before the publication of my Indian almanac the Indians could not know that such a year was to have thirteen moons, till they had arrived to the long moon, (Ketchikizoos,) or near to it; it was only then, and not before, that they could discover it, and in their backward calculations they skipped the moon after that in which the berries were ripe.

The Indians had no idea of the division of time in weeks, nor of the division of the week in seven days, hence in their language they have no corresponding name to the word week. To say, for instance, *the first day of the week is Sunday*, they say, *Etsi tanbawanskessughenakkivighi sannt*, whose literal translation is, *from seven to seven days it is the festival of Sunday*. Their month, however, is divided in nine parts, not of the same length, or, I would rather say, that in each moon they count nine phases of unequal distance from each other. They are the following:

1. *Nangusu, she is born*, (the new moon.)
2. *Nenaghil, she grows*, (from the fifth to the sixth day of the moon.)
3. *Keyan-demeghil, soon full*, (from the eleventh to the twelfth day.)
4. *Wemeghil, she is full*, (full moon.)
5. *Pekinem, after being full*, (sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth days.)
6. *Utsiné, she commences to die*, (twenty-second and twenty-third day.)
7. *Pebassine, she is half dead*, (when commencing to disappear.)
8. *Sesemina, v. metchina, she is entirely dead*, (when nearly disappearing.)
9. *Nepa, she is dead*, (no moon.)

The division of the week into days has been introduced by the white people, that is, first by the missionaries. The Indians had no idea of it, but such introduction was necessary for their spiritual and temporal welfare. They are the following:

Sunday, Sandé, (Sunday.)

Monday, Thissande, (after Sunday,) or Amskawasalokke, first work day.

Tuesday, Nissidaalokka, (second work day,)

Wednesday, N'setaalokka, (third work day.)

Thursday, Teotaalokka, (fourth work day.)

Friday, Skehewattook, (the day of the cross.)

Saturday, Katausande, (the day before Sunday.)

They do not divide the day into hours, and with some few exceptions they do not understand this division of the day into twenty-four hours. On several occasions I was much amused to see them fetching to me a watch, sometimes going several hours ahead or behind time, but very often it was not going at all, and asking me to show them the hour of the day from that watch. They go by the rising, elevation and setting of the sun, moon and stars. They now reckon two mornings, the *Awinatz-spanswi*, the morning of the white, and the *Aluambay-spanswi*, the morning of the Indians. The former is from daylight to after sunrise, the latter about eight or nine o'clock A. M. In the night they observe the different phases of the moon in order to make allowance for the changing of the time of her rising.

Like us they divide the astronomical day into day and night, but, differently from us, they do not divide it into equal parts, or hours. The day and night is each divided into six unequal parts, or I may say hours, which are longer or shorter, according to the season.

DIVISION OF THE NIGHT.

1. *Piskié*, it is night.
2. *Aquanetepoket*, it is after night.
3. *Amax itepoket*, it is before midnight.
4. *Epassietepoket*, it is midnight.
5. *Agwamitepoket*, it is after midnight.
6. *Pitsepoket*, the night will soon be over.

DIVISION OF THE DAY.

1. *Uspanswiwi*, the breaking of the day.
2. *Tse'kwat*, it is day.
3. *Paskwe*, it is noon.
4. *Pedagusse*, it crosses the line and goes on the other side.
5. *Nekile*, it sets.
6. *Maglangwi'lle*, or *Kegan pesedé*, the twilight, evening.

In conclusion of this communication, which does not yet end the article on Acadia and its aborigines, I wish to remark that the moon of January was formerly called *Mekwas'que*, *the cold is great*; but after the destruction of their village near Norridgewock, it was changed into *Onglusamressit*, *it is hard to get a living*. The reason that they assign for this change is, that, after having lost their rich land in the Kennebec, they found it difficult to procure a living in that month. They deny that any compensation was ever given to them by the government for that land. I am witness myself of the suffering of the Indians at Pleasant Point, in the Passamaquoddy Bay, during the month of January, for want of firewood. It is especially in this month that the red man at Pleasant Point remembers the woods of the Kennebec, when in a cold and frosty night he sees his fire dying away, having used all the scanty wood which the benevolent tide very kindly drifts on the shore with charitable, but sparing hand. Then the poor Passamaquoddy Indian, wrapped in a blanket, falls

asleep on his mat, and dreams of the *Mekwas'que* moon on the shore of the Kennebec, enjoying an abundance of game, and smoking his calumet of peace at a large, blazing fire. But, alas! he awakes, and he finds himself benumbed and starved. They have several times petitioned the government to grant them a portion of woodland to warm their wigwams at Pleasant Point, during the moon of *Onglusam-wessit*, and they hope yet that it shall be granted to them by their good pale-face father in Augusta.

ARTICLE XX.

BINGHAM LAND.

By WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq.,

OF NORBRIDGEWOCK.

BINGHAM LAND.

AT the close of the revolutionary war the financial affairs of the country were in a desperate state; an empty treasury without a revenue and without resources, but little money in circulation except paper, which was reduced to a nominal value of two hundred for a dollar.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts felt the pressure, as well as other states in the Union. The army had been disbanded without pay, or paid in paper money, scarcely sufficient to bear their expenses home, and thousands fled to the wilderness to make themselves homes on unoccupied lands, wherever they could find any. The title to lands in Maine along the sea-board, and in some places forty or fifty miles back, was embarrassed with conflicting grants and claims, on which many soldiers entered.

The title to the land in the central and back part of Maine was in the Commonwealth, and as soon as the government in Massachusetts was fairly organized, Governor Hancock called the attention of the general court to their eastern lands, with a hope that sales might be effected to raise a revenue to pay the state's debts. In order to effect an extensive sale, the general court caused surveys to be made, and established a land lottery, offering the land at fifty cents an acre, and in the course of four or five years tickets were purchased by patriotic individuals for about 300,000 acres, the lottery drawn, and the land con-

veyed to the holders of successful tickets, and this scheme was abandoned. General Henry Lincoln, of Hingham, an officer of the revolution, of good reputation, explored a portion of the state lands, made a favorable report which induced a large number of worthy individuals to purchase by the township, on credit, and with the stipulation to place forty families on each township within seven years. Doctor Warren purchased three townships, William and Jonathan Phillips three, John Lowell two, and many others one. General Knox, aid to Washington, highly esteemed during the war, and who was then secretary of war, being intimately acquainted with General Lincoln, confiding in his recommendation, contracted for one million acres on the upper Kennebec, and fifty-two townships east of the Penobscot, for two hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars, (or ten cents an acre.) He was not in funds to pay for the land, but was sanguine in the expectation that he could obtain associates who would be glad to advance the purchase money and pay him down, or that he could raise money by sales to settlers, at a greatly advanced price of fifty to one hundred cents an acre. His duties in the war department occupied his time so constantly, that for two years he had none to spare, and he made no sales and got no associates, and having intermarried in the Waldo family, of Worcester, who were rich, and who had assigned to him a large tract purchased of the state near the Penobscot, called the Waldo Patent, thirty miles square, he, in 1793, assigned his contract to William Bingham, of Philadelphia, an acquaintance, a wealthy banker, (who had contributed largely to the aid of the nation, and was highly esteemed for integrity and patriotism,) for no other consideration than for Mr. Bingham to see him discharged from his contract with the land agent of Massachusetts. The general court consented to sell the whole included in Knox's contract to Mr. Bingham, for \$311,250, or twelve and one-half cents an acre. He

paid down the purchase money, \$311,250. He had a deed made out, but not to be delivered until evidence could be furnished, within seven years, that forty settlers were placed on each township, and that each settler who went upon any part of his purchase should be assigned one hundred acres whereon he lived, on payment of five dollars, if he went on before the year 1784, or twenty-five dollars if he went on before 1800. Conditions made, as with all other purchasers, for speculation about settlers.

The required number of settlers was obtained on but a small part of the townships thus sold to Mr. Bingham and others, within seven years. Mr. Bingham, having obtained a very large estate, his land in Maine was of but little value compared with his cash investments and real estate in New York and Pennsylvania. He had but one son, who settled in Montreal; two daughters settled in London; one married to Alexander Baring, the other Henry Baring, eminent statesmen. His other daughters all married, one to Robert Gilmore, of Baltimore, one to Charles M. Willing, and one to Charles W. Hare, of Philadelphia; and being in the decline of life he went to England to spend his last days in retirement there with his daughters, and died at Bath, near London, in 1806.

The particulars of the sale of state lands to Mr. Bingham were not generally known in Maine, or that he had made payment. It was known that all settlers who were entitled to deeds, obtained them by paying, some five dollars, others twenty-five dollars. The soldiers, and others who went upon Plymouth Company's lands, and on other lands of foreign proprietors, were much harassed for many years. Political parties were extremely bitter against each other. Some jacobins and democratic leaders, in their electioneering canvass in the early part of the present century, resorted to fraud and falsehood to gain an ascendancy in the government, and bitter complaints were made against Governor Strong and the federal party, in 1807, for

neglecting to enforce the claim of the state in regard to the Bingham lands, insinuating that they were forfeited for non-payment of the purchase money. I was a federalist, and was made to believe that Governor Strong had been remiss. The federal papers made no reply to these false charges. The two parties being nearly equal in numbers, Strong was superseded that year, by false statements about these lands, mainly, and James Sullivan was chosen Governor. General King, Abiel Wood, and other violent democrats, senators in Maine, all then thought the Bingham lands would be reclaimed forthwith.

When the general court convened, it was soon ascertained that Mr. Bingham had paid down the purchase money on his contract, and that some forty other purchasers, of high standing in both parties, had all failed to get settlers on their lands; but few had made full payment, beside Mr. B. That he was a patriot of the revolution, possessed of immense wealth, his five daughters were married to men of the highest grade, some in England, and the others in Baltimore and Philadelphia, his only son was settled in Canada, that Mr. B. had not fled from his creditors a bankrupt, as alleged, but had retired honorably from business, and had died at Bath, near London, and had, by his will, appointed his five sons-in-law devisees in trust of his estate, all able and capable to discharge their trust with fidelity, who had appointed General Cobb and John Richards, of Maine, to attend to their petition to the general court for the delivery of the deed, by giving a bond satisfactory to the state, in regard to settlers to be placed on the land in the next seven years. All others of the delinquent proprietors joined in petitioning for an extension of time. The agents of the devisees, knowing that parties in the general court might be jealous of each other, procured William King, Abiel Wood, and Samuel Dana, three democratic senators, and Harrison G. Otis, a leading member of the senate, John Richards and Stephen Jones,

three noted federalists, all residents of the Commonwealth, of sufficient ability, as required, to give their bond in the sum of \$30,000, payable to the treasurer of the Commonwealth, conditioned to make up the number of settlers required by Mr. B.'s contract, and the deed of the land was delivered to the devisees, so that they could proceed to sell the land and give lawful deeds; the time was extended to all purchasers alike, seven years.

In order to indemnify their bondsmen, the devisees, for the consideration of \$30,000 named in their deed, conveyed to General King, A. Wood and S. Dana, and to H. G. Otis, John Richards, Peleg Tallman, Moses Carlton, Benjamin Porter and S. Jones, one-half of one, two and three townships, viz: Concord, Lexington and Kingfield, in the first range on the west side of the river, on the million acres. King took the township of Kingfield and west half of Lexington for himself, Wood and others, Otis took Concord and east half of Lexington for himself, Richards and Jones, and soon became sole proprietor. King soon bought out his associates, and eventually became proprietor of the three townships. Mr. Otis visited Maine, paid the taxes on his purchase, caused a road to be made across it towards Canada, which cost him three thousand dollars; this, with taxes for other roads, soon amounted to five or ten times as much as all the sales he could make. I saw him several times; he often complained that he had a hard bargain, and, after several years, sold for no more than he had paid for roads, taxes and travelling expenses, and General King took the burden on conditions named in the bond, wholly on himself, but did not get the full complement of settlers till 1830, and then on a representation that some townships were composed of mountains uninhabitable, and that some settlers died, and some moved off.

The land agent consented that the full quota of the ninety-two townships would be allowed, if placed on any inhabitable part. In 1830 I was employed with James

Dinsmore six weeks, in taking an enumeration from Mount Abraham to Schodiac; we found the full complement, with a small number in excess, counting all who had died on the premises in the thirty-three years next preceding, and who had gone off. General King paid us for our service, our return was accepted, and the bond discharged.

Mr. Otis took the business off from his associates, paid all bills, received nothing for his services. With all his skill he could not collect from sales sufficient to pay the taxes; he, therefore, was glad to give all up to General King, who assumed all the liabilities of the bond. Mr. King was engaged in business when he joined the others in the bond about settlers, reputed to be rich. His Bingham land was a source of trouble and expense; he derived no benefit from the conveyances to him, and the taxes and costs consumed his property, perplexing contention with town officers and trespassers drove him to insanity, so that he was placed under a guardian the last years of his life, who, to get rid of taxes, let his attorney have the remnant, a large number of lots, to pay for his fees, and his estate was insolvent. The agents of the devisees of Mr. Bingham's estate managed very judiciously in getting their deed and engagement through the general court in a quiet, still and equitable way; no discussion was had. The leaders of both parties were agreed upon on both sides and reported all right, and no one complained.

The people of Maine, when they found out that King and Otis and associates had three of the best townships on the million acres deeded to them by Mr. Bingham's devisees, imagined that they had been bribed to give up the state's claim, and many always were of that opinion, and prevented, as far as possible, any sale to be made to settlers.

When Mr. Bingham went to London on the recommendation of Alexander Baring, his son-in-law, M. P., he appointed John Black, an accomplished accountant,

scarcely twenty-one, to come to Maine and discharge the duties of clerk to his agents, at twelve hundred dollars a year. He proved to be a very skillful and efficient agent as long as he lived, acquired and retained the confidence of the devisees, and of all with whom he did business. He was allowed to take all the timber from the land he could saw in his mills, without compensation, and his salary was increased, so that he died rich, in October, 1856. He contributed one thousand dollars to the state insane hospital. He married a daughter of General Cobb, by whom he had two sons and one daughter, all intelligent and respected. When his wife died, he gave a niece of hers a present of one thousand dollars to take care of his house, and was married to her not long before he died.

During thirty-five years from the time Mr. Bingham made his purchase, no sales were made on the Kennebec tract sufficient to pay the taxes. Sales of timber were made on the eastern fifty-two townships, and some land to pay all taxes and expenses. Road taxes on the million acres were \$5,000 in 1828. In September of that year, the timber land, comprising near one-half, was run out into townships, and offered for sale at a minimum price of seventy-five cents, at public auction. I was auctioneer. Two townships, only, were sold the first day, Spencer stream tract, at seventy-six, and Maley, at seventy-five cents. The first of these was resold the next day, at one dollar, and sales and the price increased from time to time, till some townships were sold at eight dollars, or even ten dollars an acre, till all that was classed as timber land was sold. A timber speculation swept all before it; other lands fifty cents to two dollars. Then, when many had made themselves rich, the bubble burst, and in a short time the price of the best lots fell to five dollars, and many found themselves bankrupt. Colonel Black effected sales of all that was fit for settling, and for this and for timber land received sufficient

to indemnify Mr. B.'s estate for the first cost and interest, forty-two years, and to refund all moneys paid for taxes and agencies, and Colonel Black's fees.

I was employed in the summer of 1828, about thirty-three days, overseeing the making of roads, and settling taxes, at a stated compensation of three dollars a day. I made out my account in the fall, which was promptly paid, and I was notified that my doings were approved, and I was requested to accept a check on the Suffolk Bank for one hundred dollars as extra compensation, and to continue as sub-agent under Colonel Black till the land was all sold, with extra compensation as to what I did. I continued to do all that was required of me for twenty-seven years, and settled my final account amicably with Colonel B., only one week before he died, and received at the rate of ten to fifty dollars a year as commissions over and above three dollars a day for my services.

No explanation of the transactions of the general court with the devisees and records was publicly made until 1868, when a brief statement of the facts was made in a public paper, and placed on file by the Maine Historical Society, and transcribed here more in detail by me.

JULY 13, 1871.

ARTICLE XXI.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY;

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF

DECEASED MEMBERS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

IT has been usual to give a summary of the proceedings of the society in the volume of collections. The long interval, however, since the publication of the last volume, makes it inexpedient to occupy space with a detailed record of so many years. It will, it is hoped, sufficiently effect the purpose of such publication to make a general statement of the doings of the society during this period.

Besides the regular annual meetings, which are for the most part meetings for the annual business of the society, special meetings for receiving communications on subjects of historical interest and for discussions of the same, have been held each year, save one, at Augusta, Bath and Portland, by which the objects of the society have been made known, and interest in its usefulness and prosperity been essentially promoted. At these sessions obituary sketches of deceased members have been given, most of which appear in the subsequent pages of this volume.

The society, furthermore, have enjoyed the pleasure and privilege of field days, as they are termed, at Damariscotta, Pemaquid, York and Monhegan, and other points of historic interest on that part of our coast, which have proved beneficial in awakening interest in the history of the State.

The papers published in this volume have all been communicated at these special meetings, and this fact

shows that, though so long an interval has intervened between the last and the present volumes, the society has not been idle. But besides its ordinary work, it has been occupied a large part of the interval in a separate and distinct work of great interest and importance to the state; we refer to the series of volumes undertaken under the auspices of the state, on the documentary history of Maine. One volume of the series has been issued, and another containing the memorial of Richard Hakluyt to Queen Elizabeth would before have been in possession of the public, had not the disastrous fire occurred which consumed the manuscript of introduction and notes by the editor, Dr. Leonard Woods, just ready for the printer, and which has been still farther interrupted by his lamented illness and infirmity. Measures are now in train which, it is hoped, will secure the early accomplishment of that important work.

Among the more important doings of the society during these years, may be mentioned the movement, 1861-3, to obtain copies of documents in the English archives relating to Maine, which was successfully effected through the active, and, we should add, the generous agency of Hon. Freeman H. Morse, then U. S. Consul at London; and then in 1867-8 the successful effort to obtain the coöperation of the legislature for publishing volumes on the documentary history of the state now, as before stated, in progress. Add to these a measure in 1869, of coöperation with other historical societies to procure fac-similes of original maps and charts relating to the discovery of America, and especially of our north-eastern coast; and, more recently, measures which have issued in obtaining a donation of a portion of the so called, Trelawney papers, which had descended to Rev. Robert Trelawney, of Ham, near Plymouth, England, from Robert Trelawney, an early colonist and patentee of Richmond Island and the adjacent shore, now Blue Point, etc., Scarborough. A volume con-

taining these papers is to be published under the editorial care of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, to whom the society is largely indebted for his active agency in securing this curious and valuable body of documents.

NOTICE OF
HON. ROBERT P. DUNLAP.

BY REV. GEORGE E. ADAMS, D. D.,

OF BRUNSWICK.

THE Hon. Robert Pinckney Dunlap was a grandson of the first settled minister (of whose settlement there is record,) of Brunswick, Rev. Robert Dunlap. The grandfather was a native of the county of Antrim, Ireland, a graduate of the university of Edinburgh, Scotland, and emigrated to this country in 1736. He was preaching at Newcastle, Sheepscot Bridge, when he was invited, in 1747, to settle in Brunswick. This pastorate terminated in 1760.

Mr. Dunlap, to whom this notice refers, was born in Brunswick, August 17, 1794, the youngest son of Captain John, and Mrs. Mary Tappan Dunlap.

He entered Bowdoin College, in his native town, in the class which graduated in 1815, and which, though small, gained in subsequent years a rank for honor and influence among the noted classes of the college, two of his classmates being the late Hon. George Evans and Rev. Dr. John A. Vaughan. After graduation Mr. Dunlap studied law with the eminent counsellor and advocate, the late Hon. Benjamin Orr, of Brunswick, and for a time also with the late Ebenezer Mosely, Esq., a distinguished

attorney of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Soon after entering on the practice of his profession the circumstances of the times favored his own inclinations for more public life. He was elected to the senate of the state, and presided over that body in the sessions of 1827-9.

In 1834 he was elected governor of the state, and filled the office with credit for four years.

In 1843 he was elected representative to Congress, and served two terms.

Mr. Dunlap was for many years a distinguished member of the masonic fraternity, greatly respected and exerting an extensive influence. He served several times as grand master of the grand lodge of Maine. He also held the highest office in the "General Royal Arch Chapter of the "United States of America" three successive terms, of three years each.

He was, at the time of his death, the oldest surviving vice-president of the American Bible Society, and had from time to time held important positions in the management of various educational and philanthropic institutions.

In all the important political stations occupied by Mr. Dunlap, while he adhered rigidly, from an honest conviction it is believed, to the leading principles of his party, he was yet deeply sensible of his responsibility to a higher authority than party or country, and truly desirous of doing in all things that which would best subserve the public welfare. He was exceedingly cautious and deliberate in forming his opinions upon the various practical questions that presented themselves to him, and thus was preserved from many mistakes into which more brilliant, but less careful minds, would easily have fallen.

As a presiding officer, whether in the senate, the board of overseers, the town meeting, or in political or philanthropic conventions, Mr. Dunlap was hardly surpassed; conducting business with great accuracy, promptness and dispatch, and at the same time with a dignified impartiality.

Accordingly, he was often by a common consent, appointed moderator of the town meeting, even when a considerable majority of the voters were of the opposite political party; and was often sent for from abroad to preside over various public gatherings.

In private life Mr. Dunlap was a man of uncommon excellence; candid, charitable, peace-loving, abounding in tender sympathies, avoiding harsh and premature judging and evil speaking. On the 20th of October, 1825, he was married to Lydia, daughter of Abner Chapman, Esq., of Beverly, Massachusetts. His character and life as a husband and father could hardly be too highly commended. Three sons and a daughter, together with his widow, survive him.

In 1834, Mr. Dunlap became a member of the congregational church in Brunswick, and from that time to his death was held in the highest esteem as a christian, not only by the members of his own church and denomination, but by those of other christian churches generally. The religious element was, indeed, the predominant one in his character for the last twenty years of his life, becoming more and more manifest as his life was drawing to its close. His interest in all religious institutions, his anxiety to promote the cause of religion in the world, were constant and fervent. His attachment to the holy scriptures was remarkable. He was eminently a devout man, living and dying in the faith and hopes of the gospel. No one who knew him doubted the sincerity or the depth and power of his religious convictions.

Mr. Dunlap was a popular man throughout the state and with all parties. Such was the confidence of the community in his moderation, his good feelings, and his integrity, that he often, when a candidate for office, received many votes from others than members of his own party.

In the early part of the autumn of 1859, Mr. Dunlap made a visit to his two sons then residing in Illinois. On

his return, about the middle of October, he complained of a severe cold, and in a day or two was obliged to resort to his bed. It soon became evident that he was sinking under a typhoid fever. He, himself, from the first thought he should not recover; and on the 20th of October, the thirty-fourth anniversary of his marriage, in the full expectation of a blessed immortality through Jesus Christ, to the great grief of his family, of the church to which he belonged, of all the citizens of Brunswick, and of great numbers beside, he peacefully expired.

NOTICE OF
REV. JOHN W. ELLINGWOOD, D. D.

BY REV. JOHN O. FISKE, D. D.,

OF BATH.

— 1861. —

THE death during the last year of a member of our society so prominent in his profession and of so marked an influence in the sphere in which he moved as Dr. Ellingwood, seems to require some tribute of commemoration. He was born in Beverly, Massachusetts, May 2, 1782. His father, Captain Joshua Ellingwood, of Beverly, was a ship-master, and it was designed that his son John should pursue the same employment. But after one voyage, on his return to Beverly, he was apprenticed to Mr. Abner Chapman, (father of the widow of the late Governor Dunlap of Brunswick,) a silversmith of that place, and in the course of five or six years became very thoroughly acquainted with that business. At the age of twenty-one he was married to Miss Nancy Dike, daughter of Deacon John Dike of Beverly, a lady every way fitted to adorn the position in society which she filled. Mr. Ellingwood set up for himself in business about the time he was married, and being an excellent mechanic, very prudent, of pleasing appearance and address, and of great sagacity in the management of affairs, he prospered much. He records

in a brief sketch of the earlier part of his life, which was found among his papers, that his shop yielded him the first year seven hundred dollars, the second one thousand dollars, the third fourteen hundred dollars. . But he was appointed to a higher sphere of influence than that which he then so honorably and successfully filled. His change of occupation was evidently from no selfish motive, since, on abandoning his lucrative business in Beverly, his salary as a minister was only seven hundred dollars a year.

While he was an apprentice to Mr. Chapman he became deeply interested in the subject of religion, and in 1801 he became a member of the congregational church in Beverly, of which Dr. Joseph McKeen, afterwards president of Bowdoin College, was then pastor. Being a man of very sound judgment, of much activity and great clearness and force in the expression of his ideas, he at once occupied a prominent position in the church, and in the year 1810, by the advice of a number of clerical friends, he relinquished his business as a silversmith and became a member of the Andover theological seminary, then just established, with the view of entering the christian ministry. After spending two years there in diligent study, November 4, 1812, he was ordained as the pastor of the First Congregational Church in Bath. Dr. Woods, of Andover, preached the sermon on the occasion of his ordination. President Appleton, of Bowdoin College, gave the charge; Dr. Payson, of Portland, offered the ordaining prayer; Dr. Jenks, now of Boston, gave the right hand of fellowship; Dr. Gillet, then of Hallowell, offered the closing prayer. Dr. Francis Brown, then of North Yarmouth, and afterwards president of Dartmouth College, was also a member of the ordaining council.

In the place in which he was thus honorably installed, Dr. Ellingwood continued, a faithful, successful, beloved minister of the gospel, until, on account of increasing

bodily infirmities, he was compelled to resign his office, which resignation took effect August 17, 1843.

From that time he continued to be actively employed in various ways, as his health and opportunity allowed, until within a few years of his death. His wife, who had been his worthy companion through the entire period of his pastorate, died October 6, 1844. September 19, 1848, he married for a second wife, Mrs. Harriet M. Smith, of Portland. It was an eminently kind providence that committed the care of Dr. Ellingwood, during his closing years, to the faithful, competent hands of this accomplished christian lady.

For two or three years before his death a palsy slowly crept over his frame, which very much impaired his powers of motion, and also his mental faculties. He died of the effects of this disease and of old age, Sunday evening, August 19, 1860, and has gone, I doubt not, as a good and faithful servant, to enter into the joy of his Lord. His funeral was attended by a large number of the citizens of Bath, by the president and professors of Bowdoin College, and by a number of venerable clergymen from other places, who had long been associated with him in various situations in life.

Dr. Ellingwood possessed a combination of qualities which fitted him to exert a leading influence in whatever sphere he might have been placed.

He was a man of great independence of opinion and firmness of purpose. He never hesitated in the pulpit or elsewhere, on all proper occasions, boldly to avow his sentiments, and to stand by them with unfaltering steadiness. In illustration of this, when some one once objected to some political act of his by which he avowed his attachment to the whig party, his reply was, "I am not 'only a whig, *but an old fashioned federalist*;' and I publicly 'prayed in behalf of the 'Hartford Convention,' during its 'session in 1814.'" He was a man to be safely reckoned

upon. Certain things were "in character" for him, and without any special investigation it could be positively declared, that what was "out of character" could not be true. No considerable change, to my knowledge, either in matters religious, political or social, ever occurred with him. What he was at the first he firmly held out to be to the last. Some men stand like a rock-bound shore, nobly breasting the violence of the waves; and yet, as such a shore by the ceaseless surges of the ocean will gradually crumble and recede towards the land, so will they, after a time, somewhat yield to the influences under which they are placed. Dr. Ellingwood, on the other hand, was more like a sand-beach, which, the more it is beaten upon by the ocean, *the more it advances into the sea*. Had Dr. Ellingwood been a soldier after the manner of human warfare, no better man could have been selected to lead a forlorn hope in a doubtful battle, or to endure without flinching, to the last biscuit, the rigors of a siege.

He was also a man of *great prudence and wisdom*. He had consummate wisdom in managing complicated and delicate questions as they came up in his parish, or in the numerous councils of which he was a member, or in the affairs of the various literary and ecclesiastical bodies with which he was connected. I once heard a gentleman who had known him for more than thirty years say, that for the faculty called "common sense" he did not believe Dr. Ellingwood had his equal in the place where he lived, if he had in the state. His advice was often sought in respect to almost all kinds of matters; and when he gave a decided opinion it was very seldom that he was ever found in the wrong.

In all matters of mechanical skill he was an adept. He did almost all his own mechanical work. He cleansed or repaired his watch and his clocks every year on an appointed day at the exact time, with unvarying regularity, through his whole ministry. Before a dentist had ever

settled in Bath, he had made for himself an excellent tooth in place of one that was broken, out of the handle of an old tooth brush; and after that, when he came to need them, he made for himself a whole set of teeth above and below, in a manner which no dentist could surpass. By such ingenuity and skill, he did not a little towards husbanding his resources, while at the same time it afforded him agreeable relief from the severer tasks of the study.

He was a very benevolent man. No public or private charity found him an unwilling contributor. He used to devote the proceeds of certain fruit trees, year by year, to certain purposes of benevolence, and whether this was *the reason* or the *result* of their being so selected, the *fact* was, these "missionary trees" were the thriftiest and the most valuable in his orchard. To the cause of foreign missions he gave annually, for many years, one hundred dollars; to that of missions in this state, fifty dollars; to Bowdoin College at one time, one thousand dollars; to the Bangor Theological Seminary, many hundreds in his lifetime, and his library at his death. I have known him *to borrow* money to meet his customary payment to some benevolent object, and no deserving man ever found Dr. Ellingwood deaf to his calls.

He was a very *hospitable* man, and no one knew better than he how to entertain, enliven and instruct his guests. His fertility in anecdote, his aptness in giving the salient points of a good story, made his table and his fireside specially attractive.

He had great control of his passions and his tongue. I never knew him angry, and few they must be who ever knew him to "speak unadvisedly with his lips." It was instructive to see how long he would pause when he was angrily addressed, before he would venture give any kind of reply.

He was a man of great *system* and *method*. Everything in his house had its own proper place, and every little

thing for which there might be occasion only once in three or five years, was carefully laid away against the time of need. Through summer and winter, through drought and storm he kept up his meetings with unvarying regularity; he pursued the fixed course of his pastoral visits, keeping an accurate record of every important act of every day, turning neither to the right hand nor the left until, by his increasing infirmities, he was compelled to lay down his pastoral charge.

Dr. Ellingwood was not a learned and scholarly man, in the technical sense of those words, though he retained very accurately what he had learned and read; and such were his careful observation and diligent self-cultivation, that few could have ever detected in him the deficiency of a classical education. He received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Williams College, in 1816, and that of Doctor of Divinity from Bowdoin College, in 1851. He was on terms of much familiarity and friendship with the various presidents and professors of Bowdoin College, and it is no ordinary testimonial to his high qualities, to add that his society and counsels were highly prized by them all.

He became a member of the board of overseers in Bowdoin College, in 1816, and was active and interested in the affairs of the institution as long as his bodily and mental powers allowed.

As a christian minister he was eminently faithful and successful. Many of the qualities to which I have already referred contributed materially to this, and when to these is added his deep and sincere piety, his blamelessness of life, and his constant devotion, we see that he was endowed to be a leading man in his profession. His eye was dark, bright and piercing; his manner earnest, positive and solemn. One felt under his preaching, that he was addressed by one who *felt* what he uttered. His voice, in the days of his vigor, was strong and good, his carriage

firm and dignified, and his whole appearance, though he was not large in stature, calculated to command respect.

He had a fine faculty of so identifying his text with his sermon, that both were very sure to be remembered. As an illustration of this, I remember, when a few years ago he preached a sermon in my pulpit on "the valley of dry bones," a venerable man of the congregation remarked, as he went out of the house, "Mr. Ellingwood preached 'that very sermon *thirty-seven years ago* in the old north church, just before he was ordained."

His style was simple and perspicuous. No one could easily fail of understanding what he meant to say. He might be contradicted or disbelieved, but not easily misunderstood.

The matter of his preaching was sound, scriptural and instructive, rather than specially profound, original, or brilliant. There were great directness and force in his appeals to the conscience. He entered with all his heart into his preaching, and so deeply was he affected himself with the appeals which he made, that he told me he was obliged often before preaching, to read over some parts of his discourse a number of times, and so accustom himself to these sentiments that he could overcome the danger of being wholly choked and silenced by the intensity of his feelings, in the delivery of them.

He was particularly clear, forcible, animated and natural in all his unwritten addresses. He maintained a weekly repository lecture for the last twenty years of his ministry, which was well attended, and which was thought by many to furnish some of the very best specimens of his preaching.

Five of his sermons were printed. One preached at Norridgewock, in 1817, before the Maine Missionary Society; one preached before the "Bath Society for Dis-countenancing and Suppressing Public Vices," 1815; one on the fifth commandment; one preached at the ordination

of Rev. Charles Frost, of Bethel, in 1822, and one at the ordination of Rev. Isaac Weston, in Boothbay, in 1818.

He had a very uncommon felicity in public prayer. Few ever heard him offer prayer, particularly, on any special occasion, without being struck with his apposite use of scripture language, his comprehensiveness, without excessive detail, and his eminent appropriateness to the circumstances.

He became a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in 1838, a trustee of the Maine Missionary Society, in 1820, and a member of the Maine Historical Society, in 1846.

But his work has ended. He has gone forever from the place where he resided so long, and upon the character of whose inhabitants, if I am not much mistaken, he has left a deep and valuable impression, which will be legible and distinct, perhaps for generations to come. God has called him from a laborious and honorable post of service on earth, to an eternal repose and reward on high.

NOTICE OF
JOHN MERRICK, ESQ.

BY REV. D. R. GOODWIN, D. D.,

PROVOST OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

— 1862. —

ANOTHER of the founders of the Maine Historical Society is gone. John Merrick, Esq., died in Hallowell, on the 22d of October, 1861, at the full age of ninety-five years. Few of the original members of this society now remain, and none of equal age with the deceased.

Venerable in years, in person, and in character, long identified with the cause of learning and science among us, and deeply interested in every plan and enterprise for the development of the resources, and for the promotion of the growth and prosperity of this state,—Mr Merrick will not soon be forgotten, nor his influence cease to be felt in this community. Had he not survived the generation with whom the most active years of his life were spent, had he been stricken down in the midst of his work, and while his associates were busy at his side, his immediate loss might have been more generally and sensibly felt. This is one of the disadvantages incident to a life prolonged to extreme old age. A man thus outlives his contemporaries, those who saw and felt and could best appreciate the value of his labors. He is gradually withdrawn from public activity

and public notice; others take his place on the great arena of life, and he is reserved more and more for his immediate personal friends. *Their* esteem, regard, and love may increase with his increasing years. He may become to them an object of veneration,—almost a sacred thing. But the public generally will be absorbed in its own present interests and activities, and will chiefly restrict its thoughts and its regards to those who are immediately connected with and concerned in them. But, though the eye witnesses and associates of Mr. Merrick's public career have mostly passed away, though the hearts that used to be moved and quickened and exhilarated by the magic vigor of his word and the silent power of his life have mostly ceased to beat, though his labors have lost the freshness of present and passing things, yet so much the more surely has his life acquired something of the value and dignity of *history*; and this society owes it to itself and to the state to place on record among its acts a memorial of a man so distinguished and meritorious. Mr. Merrick was unquestionably a man of mark; and, though not a native of Maine or of America, few men have been so long, so intimately, or so efficiently connected with the interests and history of this, his adopted state.

Mr. John Merrick was born in London, the 27th of August, 1766. His father, Samuel Merrick, was born in 1726, and died in September, 1767. The family is of Welsh origin, and can be traced back to Cydavael, Ignad or judge of the court of Powys in the time of King John. A descendant of his, named *Meuric*, was esquire of the body to Henry VII., and captain in the guard to Henry VIII. With him the name originated, which is variously written Meuric, Meurick, Meyrick, Meric, Merick, and Merrick. A grandson of this Meuric, and an ancestor of our John Merrick, was Sir Gelly Meyric or Meric, of Pembroke, knight of the shire in the reign of Elizabeth, who was

executed in 1601 on a charge of treasonable conspiracy with the Earl of Essex. His children were afterwards restored in blood, and Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, of Goodrich Court, lately deceased, author of a well-known sumptuous and magnificent work on Ancient Armor, was his lineal descendant.

Our John Merrick, as will be seen from what we have said, lost his father when he was but a little more than a year old. His mother, Mary, in 1769, married Mr. William Roberts, of Kidderminster. Here, under the roof of his father-in-law, who was a deacon in a dissenting congregation, and seems to have been a worthy man and a good citizen, he and his elder brother Samuel, received their early training. Samuel, being of a stout frame and robust constitution, was educated a merchant. But John, who was of a lighter make, and apparently of a feebler constitution, and who always looked up to his stalwart brother with a kind of boyish reverence, was destined to the ministry. It is a remarkable fact, however, showing that early prognostications are not always verified, that the puny boy lived to an extraordinary age, surviving his athletic elder brother nearly fifty years.

Mr. Merrick was eight years in the Grammar School, connected with the Established Church, at Kidderminster, where he received his classical training,—being much more thoroughly drilled in the elements and principles of the classical languages than is common either in the academies or colleges of this country, spending years in doing what, under our modern American steam processes of education, is done,—so far as it is done at all,—in a few months or days. But the habits of accuracy and thoroughness thus acquired were of inestimable value. In his old age, he remembered with lively affection the school-house of his boyhood; and had not the ancient structure been renovated and transformed by modern improvements, he might have

been tempted to revisit England in the later years of his life, had it been only to see once more those scenes of his boyish years and sports and studies.

About the year 1788 or 1789, he entered upon the study of divinity at Daventry, where there was a dissenting academy for theological training. The celebrated Thomas Belsham was then at the head of this school. It was during Mr. Merrick's connection with it, that Mr. Belsham changed his views, and from being a high Calvinist, became an avowed Unitarian of the school of Priestly. He immediately resigned his place, and removed to take charge of Hackney College, a Unitarian Seminary, whither Mr. Merrick followed him, continuing for some time longer, not connected with his seminary, but under his personal influence. Whether, in this theological movement at Daventry, the pupils or the teacher took the lead, or whether it proceeded from a common impulse, it is not easy to say. Certain it is that Mr. Merrick's mind was strongly influenced by Belsham; and, whatever changes his theological views may subsequently have undergone, he always retained a very high personal respect and regard for his early teacher.

Having finished his divinity studies, he preached as a *licentiate* for two years, at Stamford, but was never ordained. Then, from 1794 to 1797, he became an inmate, in the capacity of tutor, in the family of the late Benjamin Vaughan, LL. D., at first in England, and then, in 1795, accompanying them to this country. A gentleman who spent his school vacation with Dr. Vaughan's boys at Little Cambridge, now Brighton, speaks of having still "a vivid recollection of the animation Mr. Merrick gave to our sports. The tutor was laid aside, and he entered into them with a zest as if he had been a boy himself, and we felt our pleasure increased by his sympathy and his superior skill." This trait was characteristic. He showed, even to his latest years, a peculiar disposition

and aptness to sympathize in the spirit and sports of boyhood.

During this period he used not unfrequently to preach at various places in Boston and its vicinity, and particularly at the stone chapel, which was then under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Freeman. But, though his style is said to have been good, his language at times very forcible, and his delivery uncommonly excellent, yet, for some reason or other not easily explained,—perhaps because he felt the want of the inward vocation, or because he was conscious of an uncomfortable wavering in his religious sentiments,—he soon relinquished the clerical profession altogether.

In 1797, Mr. Merrick returned to England, where, in April, 1798, he married Rebecca Vaughan, daughter of Samuel Vaughan, Esq., of London, and sister of our Dr. Benjamin Vaughan. In May of the same year he came back to this country, bringing Mrs. Merrick with him, and settled at once in Hallowell, occupying at first a small house in the lower street, whence he soon removed to a little farm cottage, which is still standing near his late residence. At this period the tide of population and improvement began to make rapid advances in the Kennebec country. The settlement of the Vaughan family at Hallowell, and the removal to that town, in 1794, of the sessions of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, which then always sat in full bench, and whose sessions, anywhere east of Portland, were a great event, gave an extraordinary impulse to the social development of the place. At the time of Mr. Merrick's arrival, however, the villages on the Kennebec River were but insignificant knots of houses gathered around a store or two, and a tavern, while the face of the whole country, its farm houses, roads, clearings and agricultural improvements, presented still a rude and wild aspect in comparison with the present state of things. The whole town of Hallowell, which then included what are now the cities of Augusta and Hallowell,

the towns of Kennebec and Chelsea, and a part of Farmingdale, contained only about two thousand inhabitants, though the number was nearly doubled between the census of 1790 and that of 1800, being raised from less than eleven hundred to twenty-two hundred. When Mr. Merrick came to Hallowell there were but six houses in the lower village.* Up the hills from the river the roads were scarcely practicable for a chaise, and the river itself was still the great thoroughfare for communication between the villages along its banks.

The Hon. Robert H. Gardiner, who, but for his own advanced years, would have presented the society with a fitting memoir of Mr. Merrick, instead of this imperfect sketch, has furnished the writer with an anecdote at once highly illustrative of the primitive condition of things in those times, and strikingly characteristic of Mr. Merrick himself.

"When I resided with my father on the east side of the river, Mr. Merrick would bring Mrs. M. and his eldest child, Harriet, then an infant in her mother's arms, in his birch canoe, to dine with us. This mode of visiting, so entirely different from what he had been accustomed to in England, struck his fancy; and with a square-sail and a top-sail made of the thinnest cloth, and with the halyards in his hands, that the sails might be lowered instantly at the first threatening of a flaw of wind, the canoe would fly with almost the swiftness of a bird; and the skill with which he managed his paddle enabled him to get back without fatigue." These voyages were continued until the child, by her independent motions, began to disturb the equilibrium of the delicate craft, and thus endanger the life of the party.

* The lower village was called "the Hook," and the upper village "the Fort." About the time of Mr. Merrick's arrival the town was divided, "the Fort," or upper portion, being incorporated at first under the name of Harrington, and then of Augusta.

Mr. Merrick had no sooner come into the country and provided a suitable dwelling for his family, a neat and commodious cottage, commanding a fine view of the Kennebec River and its banks, the building of which he superintended himself,—than he was found among the foremost in every plan and agency for the promotion of the public good. He particularly interested himself in the cause of popular and of higher education. In 1802 he became a trustee of Hallowell Academy, which had been incorporated only a few years, and was then an important institution, being the second incorporated academy in Maine, that at Berwick having been the first. Such an office is too often a sinecure; but not so with Mr. Merrick. He exerted himself in enlarging and husbanding the resources of the institution, in securing the best instruction, in aiding and encouraging the preceptors, in attending examinations, and in stimulating the intellectual energies and the manlier and finer feelings of the students, by his instructive, exciting, and genial exhortations. He was made President of the Board of Trustees in 1829, and continued in this post until his decease.

He was elected to the Board of Overseers of Bowdoin College in 1805, and the honorary degree of A. M. was conferred on him in 1807. He attended the first commencement of the college in 1806, a commencement which, for the number of distinguished visitors, for the crowd of people, and for the general excitement and eclat of the occasion, has not been exceeded, probably, by any subsequent commencement at Brunswick, notwithstanding the great growth and progress of the college. He continued a prompt and efficient member of the Board of Overseers until 1851, when he resigned, having then been for eleven years the oldest member of that board in official standing.

Mr. Merrick never ceased to regret the transformation of the college, from its original and catholic character of a

general state institution, to that of a school under the exclusive control of a particular religious denomination.

Being possessed of a competency, not choosing to devote his life and energies to the great end of money-getting, and conscientiously abstaining from an active participation in politics, except the casting of an honest vote, Mr. Merrick was not driven to work either by necessity, cupidity or ambition, and consequently had more leisure than most men around him. But he was not an idler. He made himself useful as a citizen. He sought in a great variety of ways to promote the physical and moral well-being of the community. He held from time to time several municipal offices. He was for many years first selectman of the town; and again several times surveyor of highways, in which offices he executed his trusts most faithfully, devoting much of his time to their duties, greatly to the advantage of the business and the roads of the town, both at that time, and, as an example of excellent judgment and inflexible uprightness, for subsequent times, also. As one of the overseers of the poor, an office to which he was annually elected for a series of ten years, he will be long and gratefully remembered. He shrunk from none of the duties of that troublesome office, and, while he exercised judgment and discrimination as to lazy idlers who preferred support from the public to working for their own living, and jealously protected the interests of the town against foreign encroachments, he was ever kind and considerate to those who were brought by infirmity to seek public aid. He had so fully the confidence of the town, that he was authorized to lend money to persons in temporary trouble, which might be returned, and the pride of the poor saved. Many families were thus relieved, and nothing ever publicly known about their cases.

In November, 1809, was held at Augusta one of the most important and exciting trials that have occurred in the history of Maine. It was reported in short-hand by Mr.

Merrick. Perhaps there was scarcely another man in the state who at that time could have performed the feat. The art of short-hand was one of his early acquirements. He had learned it while under the charge of his father-in-law, at the age of eight or nine years, and had been then accustomed, in imitation of good Mr. Roberts, to make an analysis of the sermons he heard on Sundays. The report of this trial was published in an octavo volume of one hundred and eighty-eight pages closely printed, under the following title: "Trial of David Lynn, Jabez Meigs, Elijah Barton, Prince Cain, Nathaniel Lynn, Ansel Meigs, and Adam Pitts, for the murder of Paul Chadwick, at Malta in Maine, on September 8, 1809, before the Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, LL. D., Hon. Samuel Sewall, LL. D., Hon. George Thatcher, Hon. Isaac Parker, Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court held at Augusta, by adjournment, November 16, 1809. Taken in short-hand by John Merrick, Esq. Hallowell, &c., January, 1810." For accuracy and fullness this report is a masterpiece.

The case was in substance a resistance of squatters against the rights of proprietors. A party of persons disguised as Indians had most atrociously murdered a man who was assisting a surveyor in running certain boundary lines. The persons on trial were charged with having been of that party. An attempt had been made or threatened to rescue them from the Augusta jail while they were awaiting their trial; the militia had been under arms to guard the jail, and the whole neighboring community was in a state of extraordinary excitement. The evidence against the accused, including their own confessions, would seem to have been overwhelming; yet such was the skill of their counsel, Wilde and Mellen, and so great was the sympathy of the jury with the popular feeling, that, after being out two days, they returned a verdict of *Not guilty*. An important consideration with many of them seems to have been, that they thought it hard that seven men should

be hung for being concerned in killing one. Mr. Merrick was astounded with the verdict and so were the justices who tried the case, and the parties themselves who were thus acquitted. But, however it may afterwards have been with the consciences or character of the jury who rendered the verdict, the results of the trial seem to have been overruled for good. The majesty of the government was vindicated, for the accused had been brought to solemn trial, and seen themselves in full view of the gallows. None ventured to follow their example. The very name of *Malta* was felt to be an opprobrium, and was soon afterwards exchanged for another.

Mr. Merrick liked much to refer to this trial to show the effect of a shock on a man's character. One of the party rescued from the gallows, from that hour was a changed man; became as well known for his quiet, orderly conduct, as before he had been for the reverse. He "joined the church," and took a strong interest and an active part in its proceedings and meetings. It is believed that others of the party were reformed, and none of them is known to have been guilty of any subsequent violation of law. Those were coarse, rough, stormy days, as all pioneers find their days. Every man being called upon to defend his rights, became as violent in defence of his wrongs as of his rights.

Mr. Merrick used to relate the following incident. He was on horseback years after in what had been Malta, when he rode up to an old pedestrian, and, as he always made the most of such opportunities, fell into a discourse with the man, on old times, who spoke in high terms of Chadwick, and went on giving a graphic description of the state of society in those days, adding this account of himself. He was brought up by his father to tell the truth, and make the truth his guide and counsellor. "If the truth 'can't serve you, nothing can,'" was the point on which all his moral training hinged.

Being from his cradle intimate with one of the Barton party, he endeavored, just before the murder, to detach his friend from a bad acquaintance with a wicked young man who was talented and popular, but without success. It grieved him deeply, and he used the strongest arguments—"He is a villain, and will bring you to mischief, perhaps to the gallows." One night at a large husking party in a barn, he had an ear of corn thrown at his head, presently another and another. He found they came from all parts of the barn, and called for an explanation. The young man who had excited his fears for his friend's safety, told him he could tell him a little about it, and accused him of warning his friend against *him*, because, "if the acquaintance continued, he would get him into trouble." "Now," said the old man, "I was scared; I thought I was in for a thrashing before I reached home." He was on the point of denying the whole story, and giving his friend the lie, when his father's old maxim came into his mind, "if the truth can't serve you, nothing can." Before his resolution failed, he sprang to his feet, saying, so that everyone in the barn should distinctly hear, "I said no such thing, Jabez Meigs! no such thing! I said, if he continued your acquaintance you would bring him to the gallows." Then sat down and continued his work. The young man was abashed, and soon slunk out of the barn and disappeared. Eventually he was so shunned that he was obliged to quit the place.

A project having been started for opening a road from the Kennebec to the Chaudière and thence to Quebec, which, it was thought, would greatly increase the business of this region, and open an important avenue from the Atlantic Ocean to Canada, Mr. Merrick warmly entered into the plan, and, under a resolve of the General Court of Massachusetts, he was appointed, in March, 1810, on a commission to examine its feasibility. The first commission was issued by Governor Gore, under date of March 8,

1810, to Lothrop Lewis, of Gorham, Joshua Cushman, of Winslow, and John Merrick, of Hallowell, Esquires. It appears that subsequently the Hon. Charles Turner, of Scituate, then a member of Congress, and James Stackpole, Jr., Esq., of Waterville, were substituted for Messrs. Lewis and Cushman. Mr. Merrick's private journal of this expedition, if indeed such a journal ever existed, is unfortunately lost; and the report to the governor, which, it appears, was drawn up by Mr. Merrick, with plans, &c., has not been obtained. The following notice in relation to it is furnished by Mr. Gardiner:

"My father gave Mr. Merrick a letter of introduction to "Sir James Craig, Governor of Canada, with whom he had "been formerly acquainted. The Governor received him "courteously, and highly approved the object; and, through "his influence, that portion of the road lying in Canada "was completed; and the State of Massachusetts had the "road made from the forks of the Kennebec River to the "Canada line. A mail was established on the route, and "a custom house on the boundary. The advantages expected from the opening of this road were not realized. "The road for a long distance passed through a barren "country. There was a distance of forty miles with only a "single house, and no soil sufficiently good to tempt any one "to build a second. Few persons, either for pleasure or for "traffic, would go over a road where in case of accident aid "could not be obtained. And the railroads which have "been since constructed through Vermont and Maine to "Canada, have given to the Canadians much greater facilities to the ports on the Atlantic than could be obtained "by a road through the wilderness."

Several incidents of the expedition have been gleaned from recollections of Mr. Merrick's conversations, and from the Hon. Mr. Turner's letters.

Those were simple days when bribery and corruption were not so rife as at present. Seven hundred dollars was

the enormous sum to be divided among the party, three commissioners, one surveyor, and an Indian guide. The commissioners also took with them several hands to carry provisions, instruments, &c., and Mr. Merrick took a young man by the name of David Morgan as his private attendant. After leaving the Kennebec the party camped out at night. Mr. Merrick always cut a piece of bark to serve as an umbrella when a shower threatened; then cut boughs for his bed, and washed his stockings each night, keeping two pair in use, and alternating between them from day to day, to preserve his feet in walking.

When they reached the Canada line, the two other commissioners, alleging that they had completed the work assigned them by the General Court, took the surveyor, the assistants, and the provisions with them, and returned, leaving Mr. Merrick, with Morgan and the Indian guide, and a small modicum of provisions, to go on to Quebec, assuring him that he need take no food with him for his return through the wilderness, as they would deposit an abundant supply on the way. Arrived at Quebec, the Governor invited him to dine, and ride with the ladies to Montmorenci. For a catastrophe so unexpected he was quite unprepared, being only in his rough camping dress, fresh from the woods. So he called on a French house to put him in trim, suggesting a white shirt at which Monsieur shrugged,—a collar and bosom were all the case required. At the shoemaker's he had to wait a while for his half-boots, and beguiled the time with a talk, getting the following method of keeping the frost out: "A traveller "on horseback called at a ferry-house on the St. Lawrence, "and was told it was impossible to cross on account of the "running ice. His case being urgent, he offered such a "bribe the man was induced to make the attempt. They "proceeded with increasing difficulty to the middle of the "river, when the boat stuck fast. To return was as "impossible as to proceed. Between them they contrived

“this plan: Both took off their outer coats; laying one at the bottom of the boat, they lay down front to front; each unbuttoning the vest and taking the feet of the other within, again buttoned all up snug; then they placed the other coat over all, and, like St. Paul’s companions in critical circumstances, ‘wished for day.’ They did not wait in vain, but, by the time the ice was sufficiently strong to allow them to walk to the shore, the horse was dead and frozen, while neither of the more thin-skinned animals had a frostbite.”

After a week in Quebec, business being in train, the three again took to the bush. But, on reaching the place of the promised deposit, they found to their consternation, that no provisions had been left for them, which, Mr. ——— states, was owing to the meanness and inhumanity of ——— who insisted that, the provisions belonging to the state, they had no right to leave them behind, although it cost more than twice as much to bring them off as their intrinsic value. Mr. ——— adds that ——— even grudged (professedly in behalf of the state,) the pittance of food which Mr. Merrick and his companions had taken for their journey to Quebec. As it was, a few cakes of portable soup and a few beans were all their store for a tramp of several days through the wilderness. The Indian left soon after, refusing to touch a particle of their scanty supply. “No, no, give me the fish-hook; me Indian.” So, in consideration of his own superior resources in difficult circumstances, he had pity for the poor white man. Surely this conduct of the Indian contrasts favorably with that of one of the honorable commissioners, and should be remembered to the credit of a despised race.

In the course of the expedition Mr. Merrick met also with a striking illustration of the intelligence of the Indians, as exhibited not only in picture-writing, but in the shrewd interpretation of hieroglyphic figures. Drawn with charcoal on a chip cut from a spruce tree, and wedged firmly

into the top of a stake, in which also hung a bag of dried beans, he had seen a representation of a birch canoe, containing two Indians in an attitude of great exertion, bundles of baggage, a squaw with a pappoose, and over all a bird on the wing. Mr. Merrick soon after described this to an Indian pilot, as he was passing the St. Lawrence, and asked him the meaning of what he had seen. His answer was, that the Indians call it a Wickheegan, or Awickheegan, and that it must have been left by a party of Indians for the information of their friends. Among other points explained, he said :

1. The attitude of exertion showed that the party were going *up stream*.

2. It consisted of two men, a woman, and a child.

3. They intended to remain during the whole period allotted by Indians to the kind of hunting which was then in season, because they had all their furniture and family in the canoe.

4. Concerning the bird, the pilot was very particular in his inquiries. At length he was satisfied that it was a loon. "That bird," said he "expressed the intention of the party "to go to the place agreed upon *without stopping* anywhere "before they arrived, as the loon, from the shortness of its "legs, walking with great difficulty, never alighted on its "way."

In passing, Mr. Merrick had taken a few beans from the bag in exchange for some hard bread, an exchange which he thought would be agreeable to all parties.

On this journey Mr. Merrick was absent six weeks, during which he camped out twenty-one nights, seventeen of which it rained. Yet, though in a delicate state of health when he started, he returned with greatly improved health and strength.

After the failure of the original Hallowell and Augusta Bank, another bank was incorporated at Hallowell under the same unfortunate name; and Mr. Merrick, being then

desirous of the regular employment of some daily routine of business, accepted the post of cashier, which he filled honorably to himself, and greatly to the benefit and credit of the corporation, until, overwhelmed by the bankruptcy of others, the institution succumbed in 1821. He was afterwards employed a year or two in settling its accounts.

The township of Dover, in Piscataquis County, was, among other wild lands, a part of the Vaughan patrimony in this state. That portion of the township which remained unsold or unpaid for,—and which was the greater part of it,—was, about the year 1830, accepted and taken by Mr. Merrick in settlement of his wife's claims upon her father's estate. He immediately assumed in person the care of these lands, and he managed them with singular judgment and great consideration for the settlers. He spent two or three weeks every summer, and sometimes a portion of the winter, among them, and made himself personally acquainted with the circumstances, character and ability of each individual. In his business relations with them he was, as in everything else, strictly upright and just; and, though he knew, and when necessary, could maintain his rights, which were sometimes attempted to be invaded, he was ever ready to give judicious and generous indulgence to those who, from adverse circumstances, were unable to meet their engagements. While thus kindly consulting the interests of the settlers, he, in fact, realized more from the township than if, like some other proprietors, he had rigorously exacted every payment as it became due, or peremptorily foreclosed the mortgages.

He especially interested himself in fostering the schools, and improving the roads of the rising town. Feeling that upon him there was a moral obligation to provide also for the spiritual wants of the settlers, he built and neatly furnished at his own expense, (some fifteen hundred dollars,) a house for public worship. His observation had satisfied him that "Union Meeting Houses," to be used in common

or in turn by different denominations of christians, were constant sources of strife and discord. He determined, therefore, to appropriate this to a single denomination, and, with a truly catholic spirit, putting aside his own preferences,—for he was at that time a professed Unitarian,—he deeded it to the Methodists, as embracing the largest portion of the inhabitants in the vicinity, and being, in his opinion, well adapted to the character and wants of such a community.*

From 1830 to 1840 he acted as attorney for owners of wild lands in the town of Harmony, and there carried his usual system of order and method into the management of the business.

He continued to attend to the business at Dover until within three or four years of his death, when nearly all lots of any value were sold and paid for. He had the happiness of seeing the town rapidly advance in prosperity, and become the shire-town of Piscataquis County. In the settlement of this town he has incorporated his name into the history of Maine. His venerable form will not soon be forgotten by many who used to welcome his annual visits as among the greatest events of the year. By his thorough education, his refined tastes, his high intellectual and social culture, he belonged to a different sphere from most of those with whom he had intercourse in these visits; yet he always conversed and mingled with them all as their neighbor and equal. There was nothing assuming or haughty in his manner. He was perfectly easy and familiar with every one, yet never lost his dignity, never ceased to be Mr. Merrick. His memory will be cherished by the people generally, as that of an honest man, a liberal land-

* Mr. Merrick used to express some vexation that, soon after this act of liberality, at the request of the people, he asked the Methodist Bishop, at the Annual Conference, to station a certain preacher there for the coming year, for which he gave excellent reasons; but no notice whatever was taken of his request.

lord, a judicious adviser, a kind friend, and a public benefactor. It is a slight but significant indication of the popular feeling, that the new building in the town used for the village lyceum, is called *Merrick Hall*.

In July, 1851, Mrs. Merrick died; and from that time, as indeed for some years before, Mr. Merrick withdrew very much from public life and general society, and gave his thoughts increasingly to religious meditations. As the infirmities of age grew upon him, it was found advisable to seek a milder climate than that of Maine for a large portion of the year, and for several years before his death, he spent the months from October to June in Philadelphia, with his daughter Harriet, Mrs. J. A. Vaughan. Here, too, he was near his eldest son, a son who honors his father by his character and his deeds, Samuel Vaughan Merrick,—who, by persevering with energy and skill in the business of constructing machinery, has acquired a large property; and who, by his practical science, his business tact and great administrative ability, his enlightened views, his unwavering integrity and large public spirit, has placed himself among the most prominent and eminent men in that great city. Here Mr. Merrick was widely remarked and recognized, with his erect form, his agile step, and his long, white, flowing locks, as a beautiful specimen of old age, so that even artists sought for his bust and his portrait to grace their studios.

Having passed the summer months of 1861 in Hallowell, with his daughter Mary, Mrs. J. P. Flagg, he had already fixed the day, early in October, for his return to Philadelphia, when he was seized with his last illness, and died on the 22d of the month.

But, after all, this dry sketch of outward facts can give but a faint idea of the man.

Mr. Merrick had a genuine scientific impulse. But his special interest was with those sciences which can be most

readily applied to practical life, or to the elucidation or confirmation of religious truth. He examined and defended Hadley's claims in connection with the quadrant. He invented a new practical method by which everyone can map out the heavens for himself. He was one of the first in this country who detected the planet Uranus with the naked eye. He made himself a good practical surveyor and even navigator, though merely as an amateur. He was an exact mathematician, and fathomed the mysteries of the Geocentric Latitude, for the purpose of correcting the running of extensive lines of boundary by astronomical observations. He spent a number of cold evenings with his friend, Mr. Gardiner, in endeavoring to obtain a true meridian from the polar star.

For the late Professor Cleaveland, of Bowdoin College, he formed a strong personal attachment, and exerted himself with earnestness and success in interesting the public in the admirable courses of popular chemical lectures which the professor gave in several towns and cities, in the early part of his academical career. He used afterwards not unfrequently to visit Brunswick, for the purpose of conferring with the professor on questions in geology, and hearing his lectures on that subject. His interest in geology amounted at times to a passion. He even prepared two admirable geological lectures, which he read to his friends and to select audiences, and delivered by special request at the Hallowell Lyceum, greatly to the satisfaction of all who heard them. He was a great friend of lyceums—as *domestic* institutions, not as theatres for the exhibition of foreign and paid lecturers. He was prominently instrumental in founding and fostering that at Hallowell, and opened it with an introductory lecture. In natural history, in general, he found great attractions. He strongly recommended it to the attention of the young, and was himself uncommonly well versed in all its branches. He early suspected something wrong in Dr. Kock's famous

Hydrarchos Sillimanni, and busied himself successfully in exposing the imposition. It was one of his special gratifications, while in Philadelphia, to escort his friends through the magnificent museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences; and perhaps a more universally learned and critical scientific cicerone could scarcely be anywhere found.

Though educated himself for a clergyman, he always took a special interest in men of the legal and medical professions. The learning and wit that characterize the former were their great source of attraction, and he never enjoyed himself more highly than in the society of such men as Justices Parsons, Thatcher, Wilde, and Mellen. With the medical profession his practical tendencies and benevolent feelings found scope and employment. He had a thorough knowledge of anatomy, and, when occasion required, proved no indifferent surgeon.

In music he had an exquisite taste, and a very fine ear. The first talent cultivated was his musical one. The person under whose charge he was placed at the time of his mother's marriage, taught him to sing the Nativity through, (a difficult feat for an older person,) and several other pieces. This was in early life a great source of pleasure, giving him a leading part in glee clubs and other musical entertainments, and ultimately a source of still more substantial benefit, for he was accustomed to say in later years that singing had saved his life,—by strengthening his lungs, which were naturally weak. He played the violoncello with extraordinary neatness, accuracy, and depth of tone, and until quite late in life, he sung with great sweetness. His knowledge of music was *scientific*; and for many years he was President of the Handel Society of Maine. In 1817, in connection with the late Chief Justice Mellen, who was vice-president of the society, he compiled a book of sacred music, which was published under the title of the "Hallowell Collection of Sacred Music," arranged for use in churches and families, and

well adapted for the purpose. It was due mainly to his strenuous efforts and intelligent guidance that the choir of the Old South Church in Hallowell became one of the most effective choirs in the country. At an early period he devoted much time to instructing the choir of the Gardiner church in *chanting*, and for a number of successive years he used to go down two evenings a week before Christmas for that purpose. As they had some fine voices the consequence was, that, under his instruction, they had better chanting there than is often found with the best trained choirs of city churches. He did not hide his light under a bushel.

His own elocution was remarkably perfect, and he was accustomed to make a great point—and rightly—of inculcating the importance of this art upon all young persons, and especially upon young clergymen. Many will ever remember his hints and admonitions with gratitude. So masterly was his style of reading, that persons have been known, after a lapse of thirty or forty years, to refer to their having heard him read a hymn with a beauty and a pathos such as they had never heard with a hymn before or since.

In nothing did he excel more than in the attractiveness of his social character, and in his fascinating powers of conversation. His memory was richly stored and ready. His words were well chosen. His wit was pointed; his sense of the ludicrous and comical quick and keen; his power of ridicule irresistible, his sarcasm withering. But under it all ran an inexhaustible vein of droll, quiet humor, with a fund of benevolent sensibility, a readiness of sympathy, and a kindness of appreciation, which rendered even his most dreaded satire almost a pleasure. His conversation was remarkably suggestive, and he had a peculiarly quick insight into the minds and characters of others. His personal attachments were strong, and to the friends of his earlier years in this country, he clung to the

last with a singular tenacity and warmth of affection. Even under the infirmities of extreme old age, in his annual migrations between Hallowell and Philadelphia, he would insist, in passing through Boston, upon going around, even at the risk of his life, and calling on all his old friends.

He was distinguished by a habit of constant observation and inquiry. In his frequent and various journeys he always preferred either to ride on horseback, or in an open vehicle, and used critically to examine everything within his reach as he passed along. He made acquaintance with everyone he met, man, woman, or child, from whom he could learn anything, and he never failed to repay them by communicating more than he received. Probably no man in Maine was more minutely and accurately acquainted with its topographical and geological characters, with its roads and streams, its lakes and mountains.

One of the most characteristic and delightful powers which he possessed was that of dropping hints to the young, so pointed that they never failed to find a lodgment. They were like leaven thrown into any measure of meal that offered. One day he saw a boy kick a hole through his kite in a passion. The case was intelligible. The boy had spent his half-holidays making his kite, and his spare cash in the purchase of twine and other materials, all of which seemed a dead loss. "Had not you better kick the 'boy for not understanding the business of kite-making?" asked he dryly, then stopped and drove the lesson home by showing how to balance the kite, &c. This boy left Hallowell for thirty years, and the other day told a friend, on a visit to his old home, that he had never been in a passion since without thinking the boy deserved a kicking. Many is the man that will still recur with pleasure to the hints he thus received from Mr. Merrick in his boyhood; and much of their force lay in his quick sense of ridicule, and in the genuine kindness which was always shown in the winding up of the interview.

His habits of business, whether as cashier of a bank, as a municipal officer, or as a proprietary, were always prompt, methodical, and thorough. It was not easy to impose upon him, and yet he had no law suits. He had a horror of litigation; and when the son of a dear friend of his applied to him once for a recommendation, with a view to establish himself as a lawyer in Dover, he refused it, believing it to be for the interest of the new settlers to live without a lawyer as long as possible.

Of usury and speculation he had a kind of superstitious abhorrence. He was sure they would be visited with a Providential retribution which would fully meet the demands even of poetic justice. His notions of honesty were almost romantic, and his sense of honor intensely delicate. If any dispute in the town was to be submitted to arbitration, Mr. Merrick was the first to be selected as umpire by both parties. His leading ethical traits were integrity, benevolence, enterprise, and public spirit. But nothing did he more heartily enjoy than to perform the office of peacemaker among his friends and neighbors. He never harbored malice himself, and he sought, whenever he had an opportunity, to banish it from the minds of others.

His kindness and liberality were bounded only by his means. As "God blessed his latter end more than his beginning," his handfuls were more and more freely thrown abroad. His last earthly care was for a poor Irishman who had lived with him when his children were in their cradles, and who married the girl in charge of them. It troubled him for some hours from inability to make himself understood, but on being reminded that a five dollar bill was appropriated for the poor man's wood when the snow came, he dismissed the subject with an expression of satisfaction.

It was characteristic of Mr. Merrick that, whatever he undertook, he made it a point to do it as well as it could

possibly be done. Though of a slender frame, he excelled in many forms of physical and even of athletic exercise. He was an inimitable skater and swimmer, an admirable horseman, and an expert driver. If he paddled a birch canoe, no Indian could do it better. If he danced, no Frenchman could excel him. If he read aloud, it was perfect. If he sang, it was exquisite. If he played an instrument, no professor of music could exhibit a more easy and masterly execution. If he addressed a company of boys, he not only entranced them in pleasure for the moment by his eccentric humor and quaint illustrations, but he contrived to inject into their minds something of value to remember and thank him for as long as they lived. In short, whether he told a humorous story, suggested a useful hint, insinuated a compliment, let fall a satirical squib, or uttered a jest, he left nothing to be added or improved. Every movement, every word, every action, was graceful and finished.

Of his religious history and character this is not the place to speak particularly. His was a singularly pure life. In his later years his religious character developed and ripened gradually but beautifully. He was a strikingly humble and earnest, a devout and growing christian. Any christian denomination may be prond to claim him as their own. But perhaps it is proper merely to add that, while in Philadelphia, he was a constant attendant at the Presbyterian Church under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Jenkins, and there he very devoutly and constantly received the communion whenever it was administered.

Mr. Merrick's personal appearance was always striking, but particularly in his later years. None ever saw him to forget him; and none ever became intimately acquainted with him without respecting and loving him. His was a noble mind, a noble heart, and a noble life. His faults were few, his enemies none.

NOTICE OF
ROBERT HALLOWELL GARDINER.

BY RT. REV. GEORGE BURGESS, D. D.,

OF GARDINER.

THE family of Hallowell had for its first American progenitor, William Hallowell, who, in 1650, removed from the Plymouth Colony to Boston.* His second son, Benjamin Hallowell, marrying Mary Stocker, was the father of another Benjamin, who was born in 1699, and died in 1773, a prominent citizen of Boston, a merchant and ship-owner, the navy agent of the port, and a large proprietor in the Kennebec purchase. He married Rebecca Briggs, and had four sons, of whom the eldest was still another Benjamin, and the second was Robert.

Benjamin, the third of that name, became the collector of customs at Boston, and one of the commissioners of customs for the colonies. In these capacities he was naturally unpopular as the revolution drew on, and at length his house was attacked, and he was driven for a

* This is a mistake. In my father's journal he states: "My father's family originated, I believe, in Devonshire, and, according to Savage, emigrated first to Connecticut; but from deeds which I once had in my possession, were settled in Boston before the close of the seventeenth century."—R. H. G.

time from Boston. When the British troops evacuated the city, he went to England; but returning twenty years afterwards to America, died in Canada, where he had a grant of lands. One of his sons was Admiral Sir Benjamin Hallowell, a distinguished officer, who commanded one of the ships of the line under Nelson, at the battle of the Nile, and presented him with a coffin made from the mast of the ship which had borne the flag of the French admiral, and had been blown up in the battle. Another son, Ward Hallowell, on inheriting the estate of his maternal uncle, Nicholas Boylston, took his names, and is numbered amongst the benefactors of Harvard University.

Robert Hallowell, the second son of the Boston merchant and navy agent, after holding the post of collector of Portsmouth, succeeded his brother Benjamin in the collectorship of Boston, when Benjamin became a commissioner of the customs. His remarkable urbanity and gentleness of manners protected him from personal animosity, even in the discharge of this very obnoxious office, which he held at the time when the tea was destroyed in the harbor, and when the port was closed by act of parliament. After the evacuation of Boston by the British forces, he also withdrew to the mother country, and remained there till some time after the war, when he also returned to be received with warm regard by his old friends, and with respectful kindness by the public. His latest days were spent in Maine, and he lies buried at Gardiner, beneath the walls of Christ Church.

Mr. Robert Hallowell was married in January, 1772, some weeks after the death of his father, to Hannah, daughter of Dr. Sylvester Gardiner. That gentleman, a native of Rhode Island, had received a fine medical education abroad, and had afterwards associated with his professional practice in Boston, a very extensive business in drugs and medicines, so that he had accumulated a large fortune. By his first wife, Anne Gibbons, daughter of Dr.

William Gibbons, he left two sons, John, a distinguished lawyer, and William, and four daughters, of whom the eldest married the Hon. Colonel Brown, son of the Earl of Attamont, and brother of the Marquis of Sligo; the second was Mrs. Hallowell; the third was Mrs. Philip Dumaresq, and the fourth was the wife of Oliver Whipple, and the mother of the late Mrs. Frederic Allen.

The name of Dr. Sylvester Gardiner must always be held in grateful and reverential remembrance on the banks of the Kennebec. He purchased from the Plymouth Company a very extensive tract, and, foreseeing that it would be the foundation of a populous settlement, he desired to invest it with the blessings which were nearest to his own heart.

So far as was in his power, education, intelligence and religion should be associated with the temporal prosperity which he hoped to plant for a succeeding generation. His plans were large, and he had the principles and spirit of a high-minded and conscientious Englishman of that age.

In the course of the revolutionary war, Dr. Gardiner was himself persuaded, though past the age of seventy, to leave the country for England; but returned soon after the peace, and died in 1786 at Newport. His possessions in Massachusetts had been confiscated. Before those in Maine could be subjected to the same process, the treaty of peace and independence intervened, and the blow was stayed. He owned not only the lands now included in the town of Gardiner, but a considerable part of Hallowell, of Augusta, of Chelsea, of Pittston, of Dresden, and other estates in Norridgewock, Winslow, Winthrop and Georgetown. Unprofitable as was this property, the estimate of its value was, even then, \$140,000, while it was still almost a wilderness.

Upon this large-landed estate, after the confiscation of his other wealth, Dr. Gardiner looked as a provision for his sons, and hoped that it might continue the abode, and

preserve the name of his family. To his eldest son, who, in opposition to his views, both political and religious, was a whig and an Arian, he bequeathed Swan Island, and the lands in Pownalborough. To his second son, a man of much less mark, he gave the residue of his estates in Maine. His eldest daughter was married into a noble and affluent family in Ireland. He provided, therefore, that in the event of the decease of his second son, the property bequeathed to him should pass to the then infant son of his second daughter, Robert Hallowell.

At the time of the death of his maternal grandfather, Robert Hallowell, the younger, was a child of four years old. He was born on the 10th of February, 1782, at Bristol, the temporary residence of his parents, in England, and was the youngest of three children, the two older being daughters. His father received a moderate pension from the British government, and Bristol and its vicinity proved a happy position for all the purposes of health and education. The young daughters of Mr. Hallowell were among the pupils at the establishment of the excellent Hannah More and her sisters. The son enjoyed whatever benefits belonged to the gently rigid discipline of clerical teachers in England, until, still in his early boyhood, he was removed with the rest of the family to America. The allotment of Divine Providence had clearly designated his future home, for his uncle, William Gardiner, had died in the year after the death of Dr. Gardiner, and at the age of five the little boy had become the heir to a noble landed estate in Maine.

In February, 1792, therefore, when he was just ten years old, he crossed the Atlantic with his parents, and they resumed the family mansion in Boston, which, from regard to the life estate of an aged lady, his paternal grandmother, had escaped confiscation. His earliest American recollections were connected with the excitement of popular feeling under the events of the French revolution. After a

few months in the public Latin School, then kept by a person quite incompetent to the post, he was sent to Phillips Academy at Andover. Of the instructor, Mr. Pemberton, he always retained a most respectful remembrance. But the 'absurd rigor of manners in the family where he boarded, and the coarse food and accommodations to which he had been unaccustomed, affected his spirits and his delicate health to such a degree that he was after a while withdrawn. So deep was the impression received thus in his boyhood, that for many years he avoided passing through Andover, and he could hardly persuade himself, when at length he saw the spot, that it had been in that pleasant town that he had suffered so much.

His cousin, the Rev. John Sylvester John Gardiner, son of his uncle John Gardiner, and at this time, as after, a clergyman of Trinity Church, Boston, offered his services to assist his classical studies. These services were exceedingly valuable, for he had been a pupil of Dr. Parr, in England, and was one of the best classical scholars whom our country has possessed. But the tutor had buoyant spirits, and passed so easily from the lessons to the shuttlecock, that Mr. Hallowell apprehended a neglect which by no means existed, and his son afterwards felt that he had sustained a loss in being separated from a teacher really so invaluable.

He was next sent to the Derby Academy at Hingham, where he remained till he left it for college. In that period he lost his mother, and, less than three months after, one of his sisters, both of consumption; and the same disease, six years later, deprived him of his remaining sister. The pious instructions of a most beloved mother, taken from him at that stage in his life, and in such a manner, never ceased to have a hold upon his heart. In the mean time his own health was invigorated at Hingham by habits of bold and active exercise.

At the commencement of Harvard University, in 1797, being then fifteen years old, he became a member of the college, under the presidency of Dr. Willard. His own class contained few names of subsequent distinction, but amongst his fellow-students in the course of four years, were Channing, Story, Stephen Longfellow, Richard Sullivan, Professor Cleaveland, Washington Allston, Buckminster, Dr. Charles Lowell, Chief Justice Shaw, Professor Frisbie, Levi Lincoln, Dr. Nichols, of Portland, Dr. Payson, Judge Ware, Professor Farrar, and Professor Andrews Norton. He formed a circle of intelligent associates, and with one of his classmates maintained a correspondence through the long space of sixty-three years. Another of them was the late Archdeacon Stuart, of Kingston, in Upper Canada, who was accustomed to visit him occasionally, even into old age. Another was Timothy Fuller, afterwards a member of Congress, and the father of the Countess D'Ossoli. Another, who was for some time the room-mate of Robert Hallowell, was John Gorham, afterwards Professor of Chemistry in Harvard University. During the college course these two friends visited the Kennebec together, and travelling eastward as far as Thomaston, enjoyed for several days the profuse hospitality of General Knox, at his baronial mansion.

The influence of the French infidelity was much felt in educated society, and pervaded the college to an extent which was remembered by many of the students with much pain. It never entirely shook the principles of this young man, but he often recurred to the unhappy state of doubt into which many others were drawn, and which could not but dimly affect even those who resisted its control. The instruction of the students in divinity, a relic of other times, was not such as to counteract the danger with much effect.

At the College Commencement of 1801, at the age of nineteen, he graduated, receiving the second of the allotted

"parts." His name was at once entered in the office of the Hon. John Lowell, an eminent member of the bar. But after a visit to the Kennebec he appeared so very frail, and so liable to fall an early victim to the disease of his mother and sisters, that he was advised to go abroad, and travel till he should attain his majority. Embarking, therefore, for England, he was soon domesticated, as it were, amongst his kindred, both on the paternal and maternal side, who were established in the mother country. Of these, one considerable branch were the Vaughans, of whom the eldest known to him, Mr. Samuel Vaughan, had married the sister of Mr. Hallowell, his father. He was at that time at Brighton, while one of his sons, William, had an establishment in London. The father had been a West India merchant and proprietor, a republican in principle, and an intimate friend of Dr. Franklin. Most of the family emigrated to America; and their marked character and culture, and especially the social influence of Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, who had held a seat in parliament, contributed much to the early distinction of the town of Hallowell, his residence, in intelligence and enterprise. A daughter of Mr. Samuel Vaughan, Mrs. Derby, was then also at Brighton with her daughter, who became the wife of Chief Baron Pennefather, the eminent Irish judge. Two other sisters of Mr. Hallowell, the widows of officers in the British service, Mrs. Gould and Mrs. Bishop, he found residing at Bristol. The husband of the former, Colonel Paston Gould, was the brother of Sir Charles Gould, Baronet, whose grandson has since been called to the peerage as Lord Tredegar. At Bristol, also, was his aunt on the mother's side, Mrs. Browne, with her high aristocratic habits and connections.

After passing the winter under medical advice, at the hot wells of his native city, he went, under the same advice, into Devonshire for the spring months, finding much hospitality amongst gentlemen of the county to whom he

had letters; and in the following summer took a long tour on horseback among the Welsh mountains. He continued his tour through various parts of England, and after spending some weeks amongst his relatives in London and in the country, accepted the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Apthorp, of Boston, to accompany them to the continent. They went first to Holland, spent two months at Paris, then in the state of transition created by the first consulship of Bonaparte, and then proceeded to Bordeaux, where a number of Americans were engaged in business. It was their intention to go on from the south of France into Italy; but the unsettled times had caused such difficulties in travelling that they saw themselves compelled to pause at Nismes, and return to Paris.

It was now the early spring of 1803, and Mr. Hallowell had just reached his majority, when, if not before, he assumed, in accordance with the will of his grandfather, the additional surname of Gardiner. The care of the estate of which he now became the possessor, required his presence in Maine, and he returned from Europe much invigorated in his constitution, though still a man of seemingly delicate frame, and always accustomed to a careful and somewhat abstemious course of living.

He came to the Kennebec, to the town which had just been separated from Pittston and incorporated under his own name of Gardiner, as indeed the settlement for thirty years before had been known as Gardinerston. He came to make it his residence, with many interruptions, perhaps, but still, as it pleased the Giver of life, for an unusual length of days. Slender and slight as he was when he first appeared as the boy landlord of many rough and suspicious men, he lived sixty years more upon that spot, till their great-grandchildren saw him almost as active and alert as then.

The estates to which he was heir had suffered during his minority. They could not be sold because they were

entailed. No leases were practicable beyond the continuance of a life which had seemed so very frail and precarious; and his father, as his guardian, had not felt it to be safe to incur any heavy expenditure for their improvement, in which the interest of his own family might so easily expire. Besides, a claim had been founded upon a supposititious deed, subversive of his whole title, and, absurd as it was, several years had passed before it could be publicly condemned by the verdict of a jury. In the mean time occupants had not been wanting; but many of them paid no rent, and deemed their labor a sufficient title to the soil on which it had been expended. The task which opened itself out before a young man of so limited an experience, was not a little appalling, even if it had not been made more formidable by prejudices against an absentee owner of foreign nativity, of loyalist parentage, and of aristocratic kindred.

Amongst ninety-seven families settled in Gardiner, only eleven had any legal right to the lands which they occupied, and these occupied not more than a hundred acres. With natural advantages exceeding those of its neighbors, Gardiner had gained little or nothing in thirty years, while Hallowell and Augusta had become flourishing villages, with good roads to the interior.

The first business was that of accurate surveys, yet not so accurate as to be more costly than the lands themselves. This was accomplished through the services of Solomon Adams, a good surveyor, and an upright man. The next was to break the entail, which was rather slowly effected through the old English mode of fines and recovery, under the counsel of Judge Wilde, and with satisfactory compensation to Sylvester Whipple, the young cousin who was next in remainder to Mr. Gardiner and his children. The third step was to reach a settlement with the tenants at their own will, so that they might either take leases, or purchase, or depart. This was a serious undertaking, and

it concerned not the township of Gardiner alone, nor the tenure of his property alone, but that of extensive regions on the eastern side of the Kennebec, where the same class of settlers had established themselves, and were often disposed to maintain their position against law by fraud and passive resistance, and even, if the need were, by the strong hand. These men had an interest in spreading such reports as might persuade the people of Gardiner that the title was defective, or that the property would be abandoned. They had been so far successful that Mr. Gardiner could accomplish nothing by private communication, each man awaiting the action of his neighbors.

A circular was addressed by him, therefore, to every such tenant or settler in the township, inviting them to meet him at a room engaged for the purpose, at a certain day and hour. Resolutely excluding from this meeting all intruders, and offering to the settlers fair and liberal terms of compromise, he arrived, on the spot, at a written agreement with almost all; an agreement which in the end included, indeed, the whole of the settlers, save one. Forty-nine took deeds of the lands on which they lived, while thirty-seven chose to receive compensation for their improvements and abandon the soil. One man alone would yield to nothing but force, and finally was ejected from his premises, and imprisoned for a little while for his resistance to the legal process.

This happy union of determination with a conciliating regard to the interests and feelings of all, tended much to preserve harmony in the community, and to create respect for the youthful proprietor. He proceeded to invite new inhabitants by sales and leases on such terms as promised every advantage, and began at once that career of liberal outlay which so largely aided to build up the town, and at the same time make it a pleasant residence for his own family. Within ten years the population was doubled.

After this work of the summer of 1803, it was thought

prudent by the friends of Mr. Gardiner that he should pass the winter in a less severe climate. Accompanied by his friend and classmate, Gorham, he visited the south, taking with him the best letters of introduction, and enjoying the highest hospitality. The habits of drinking and of looseness in conversation and in life, which he found in the most affluent and cultivated society of the land, left no impression upon his mind, honorable and pure from youth, except those of pain and disgust. To a very large extent he perceived them to be united, also, with disbelief in the christian religion.

He saw Philadelphia, where Sunday was then the day chosen for large dinner parties. At Washington, then so new, he was introduced by Governor Eustis to President Jefferson, who received him in a well-worn blue coat, corduroy breeches, stockings refooted, and a faded and soiled waistcoat of scarlet. At Alexandria, on a bright Sunday, in the church where Washington had been accustomed to worship, less than twelve persons were assembled. At Richmond, only one barn-like house, occupied by the Methodists, was open for divine service, besides the capitol, in which there were Episcopalian and Presbyterian ministrations on alternate Sundays. At Charleston he went on board of two vessels loaded with cargoes of slaves just imported from the African coast. The hospitality of the plantations of South Carolina was abundantly offered. He saw the manners of the land, and having spent some time in the interior and visited Savannah, he returned by water as far as Baltimore, and from thence by land to Boston, arriving in May, 1804, with health decidedly improved.

The communion vessels of Christ Church, Gardiner, bore for sixty years an inscription, of which the purport was that they were presented in 1804, to St. Ann's Church, Pittston, which was the old name of the church, by Robert Hallowell Gardiner. In pursuance of the will of his

grandfather a church had been built, but was not completed when, in 1794, it was set on fire by a maniac and consumed. Another was soon erected; a structure sufficiently plain and humble, and surrounded by its churchyard. For the present Mr. Gardiner found it sufficient, though the only house of worship in the village; but with the growth of the population his designs expanded.

In the summer of 1804, he fitted up as an inn a large building erected by his grandfather, the exact counterpart of the old court house at Dresden, built a fulling mill, and, at a heavy expense, constructed a substantial wharf somewhat exceeding the necessities of the place. It was his aim from the beginning to develop all the natural resources of the spot, and he perceived them to be not readily exhausted.

The winter of 1804 was spent in Boston, where at that time he became one of the club known as the Anthology Club, a small association of men of taste, who met weekly for social and literary culture, and whose organ of communication with the public came to be the "Monthly Anthology." The members did not exceed fourteen or fifteen in number, the chief of whom were the Rev. Dr. Gardiner, President Kirkland, Professor McKean, Buckminster, James Savage, William Emerson, William Tudor, and, at a later period, George Ticknor. For several winters this was amongst the chief attractions which made that season at Boston so pleasant to Mr. Gardiner, and gratified as well as cherished his love of fascinating conversation.

But this winter of 1804 was his happiest in Boston, as its result was his marriage in the following year to Emma Tudor, daughter of the Hon. William Tudor. Two of her brothers were his accomplished friends, William Tudor, the biographer of Otis, and the late Frederic Tudor who founded the ice trade, and accumulated in it an immense estate. Her sister was the wife of Commodore Charles

Stewart. In a union of fifty-nine years, Mr. Gardiner was conscious of an unbroken fullness of conjugal happiness, for which, to the extreme limit of his days, no tenderness of chivalric devotion was more than an adequate expression.

He came with his young bride to the banks of the Kennebec, and established their abode amidst scenes of comparative rudeness. There was, indeed, both then and before, a sprinkling of fine social cultivation at intervals along the river. At Augusta, Colonel Howard maintained the hospitality of the older days; his fire, it was said, never went out throughout the year. The names of Weston, Bridge, Coney and Williams, recall the sagacity and intelligence, as well as the kindly cheerfulness of the early fathers of that fair city. At Hallowell were the Vaughans, with all their English customs, their speculative habits of thought, and their varied information; the late venerable John Merrick, who had married into the family, and was distinguished by all its characteristics; Judge Wilde, who adorned the Massachusetts bench, and Dr. Gillett, who upheld firmly the old orthodoxy of the Puritans. At Gardiner, in addition to Mr. Hallowell and Mr. Gardiner, was General Dearborn, who had participated in the expedition to Quebec, and who at a later period became secretary of war, commanding on the northern frontier in the war of 1812, and minister to Portugal; and here, also, were Dr. Parker, who had a seat in congress, and afterwards, Frederick Allen and George Evans. Though the roads at first were imperfect, and visits somewhat infrequent, yet the necessity and attraction of society were such as to create an intercourse probably as genial and cordial, even at such distances, as any which has since taken its place.

For six years Mr. Gardiner resided in the house which had been occupied by his father on the eastern bank of the river, near the ferry. It has since been the home of the Stevens family, and is made beautiful by its noble

avenue of ancient elms planted by Mr. Hallowell. As the young family of Mr. Gardiner began to demand ampler space, he determined to build a mansion on the western bank, a mile below the village. It was built in 1809, and for twenty-three years, spacious as it was, its chambers were crowded with the succession of inmates and guests, whom, in addition to his own immediate household, he always loved to gather within the circle of his domestic affection, his beneficence, or his hospitality.

His own household, throughout a long period, embraced more than twenty persons. His father died under his roof; his venerable mother-in-law lived there, with bright faculties, beyond the age of ninety. Children, the companions of his children, had there the equal blessings of a refined and regulated home. Teachers were there assisted in their task by parental intelligence and fidelity. The judges of the courts, on their circuits, did not fail to become his visitors. Every intelligent traveller from abroad who came to the Kennebec was almost sure to bring letters which threw open his doors. The clergy were ever honored under his roof for the sake of Him by whom they were sent.

His grounds extended to the road along the bank, and indeed the road was carried through them; and while the green lawn in front, and hillocks at either extremity formed always a pleasant picture, the open fields in the rear rise gently towards a distant wood, and to the south, through the trees, the river stretched away, curved, and was lost to sight. The fruits of the garden, so far as they can bear the rigor of our climate, were carefully cherished, and our finest forest vegetation added its hardy beauty to the scene. In the house itself, which was a fair mansion of ample but not too ample dimensions, the library was well replenished with the best literature, while the cheerful voices of a large family of children were heard, year after year, in the halls and chambers, and out in the avenues

and on the grass. Over all presided a spirit of gentle, not obtrusive, but unshrinking piety. No guest of a few days left that mansion without the consciousness that he had been an inmate of a christian household; and those were not a few who, in the course of years, could trace the commencement or the decided improvement of their own religious character to the impressions which they had quietly received under the example and influence which predominated there.

Very soon after his establishment on the Kennebec, Mr. Gardiner, who had pursued a course of reading on the evidences of christianity, became entirely free from all the remaining shadow which had been left on his mind from the skepticism of the college.

He entered with conscientious alacrity on a course of christian obedience, and very soon became a communicant at the Parish Church of the village. It was then, and for a long time, the only house of worship, and was the only Episcopal church in Maine, except that at Portland. In some of the early rectors he found but small material for companionship in taste and social sentiment; but he was ever the most constant of worshippers, and labored to discharge the duty of a faithful parishioner. When there was no resident clergyman he read the Sunday service, and this twice happened for many months in succession, extending even to years. In compliance with the will of his grandfather, a parsonage had been built on the glebe land; and when it came to be occupied by a minister of singularly popular qualities, the Rev. Gideon Walter Olney, who took charge of the parish in 1817, it was at the expense of Mr. Gardiner, very handsomely enlarged. About the same time the parish voted to undertake the erection of a new church, and as he was by far its wealthiest and most prominent member, and held from 1812 to 1829, with the exception of two years, the office of senior warden, it was obvious that on him would devolve the whole stress of the

practical responsibility. To him it was due that a true gothic church of stone was begun and finished, the corner stone being laid on the 31st of May, 1819, and the edifice being consecrated in September of the following year. It was as complete, striking, and faultless a structure of its own architectural style, as could be found at that time in the United States, and made the most beautiful ecclesiastical edifice in Maine. The cost was about fifteen thousand dollars, and in the end Mr. Gardiner assumed an unsold balance of — pews, which, long after, he presented to the parish. Not less than the sum of eleven thousand dollars must be estimated as his offering to that church, which, looking down upon his grave, makes his best monument.

The church stands at one corner of the common, and on the same side at the other corner, stands another building of stone, of the same hue. It is now the High School of Gardiner. It was originally the lyceum. That institution owed its foundation to the desire of Mr. Gardiner, in common with many others, that facilities might exist within the state for the instruction of young men in those departments of science which are connected with agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and with the general business and industry of the community. It was a noble design; and Mr. Gardiner both contributed largely towards the first outlay, and also was the chief, if not sole reliance of the institution when the state, which at first made a grant towards its support, after several years withdrew that aid, and the popular interest languished. Though it enjoyed the services of two or three teachers of high merit, it was at length relinquished. The building passed ultimately into the hands of the city, and many of the books and instruments which had been collected were scattered. One of the principals of the lyceum was the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Hale, afterwards professor in Dartmouth College, and subsequently president of Geneva

College, who till his death, which occurred shortly before that of Mr. Gardiner, was his constant friend and correspondent.

Between the church and the building erected for the lyceum, lay the old churchyard of the village. In process of time it was found inadequate, and might have fallen into an unseemly neglect, but for the provident and liberal aid of Mr. Gardiner. Having relinquished to the parish a large number of pews, he made it a condition of the gift that the proceeds of their future sale from the parish to individuals should constitute a fund, the interest of which should be appropriated to certain specific purposes. Of these purposes, two of the first were the purchase of a small piece of ground required to make the churchyard complete, and the provision of a substantial fence of iron. In the course of years both these purposes were accomplished, and much was added to the sacred beauty of the spot. The common itself, around which are now ranged four of the houses of public worship, was his gift to the town. Through his care chiefly, the land, consisting of ten acres bequeathed by his grandfather for a glebe, was divided, after its value had become much augmented, into lots for houses, and became the site of many pleasant dwellings, while the proceeds formed an important parochial fund towards the maintenance of the rector.

When in 1820, Maine became a separate state, it followed as a natural sequence, that the Episcopal Church in Maine should receive a separate organization. It might be such, though a part also of what was known as the "eastern diocese," which was under the administration of Bishop Griswold, and included the Episcopalian congregations of the states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Maine, each state having still the organization of a distinct diocese. There were at this time only two Episcopal churches in Maine, yet the organization was perfected, and Mr. Gardiner almost ever after

represented the diocese as one of its lay delegates in the general convention. There, as his years and experience multiplied, and as his great worth became more widely known, he grew to be one of the most honored members of the body, and one of its most trusted counsellors. In the missionary operations of the church he had always a lively interest, and much of the spirit of an actor; and, after the adoption of the present system in 1835, he was a punctual member of the General Board of Missions. He was also a trustee from the first of the General Theological Seminary at New York. Within the diocese of Maine he was, from the necessity of his position, education, and settled principles, the most conspicuous layman. Not shrinking from the post allotted him by Providence, he met its responsibilities with a devotion which will not be forgotten as long as his name shall be remembered. He was always the treasurer of the Diocesan Missionary Society, and its payments were never permitted to be delayed. In his later years he endeavored to attend all the meetings of its board, which was several times in the year. All the body consisted chiefly of the clergy, and most of them young men, and none too old to have been his sons, he was amongst them indeed as a father, with characteristic kindness, promptness, sagacity, and eagerness, and yet with a striking readiness to relinquish his own views of expediency in deference to the opinions of the rest. Down to the last months and weeks of his life, when all other business was left behind, he still loved to employ his mind with these occupations, though absent from the meetings, and still had his delight in doing any service for the church of his Redeemer.

In public affairs Mr. Gardiner, throughout his life, was rather an intelligent and interested participant, than a prominent or ambitious mover. Once I have supposed, but am not sure of the fact, he was elected to the state senate; and when the town of Gardiner, in 1849, accepted

a city organization, the unanimous feeling of the community tendered to him the position of its first mayor, which he retained for two years of energetic and wise administration.

He was, as might be expected, an adherent originally of the old school of federalists, and at a later period he acted with the party which sustained the governments of Adams, Harrison, and Fillmore. A constant reader of foreign publications, and very familiar with the political economy of Great Britain, he embraced the doctrines of free trade. His dislike of slavery was thorough, and was the result of a high moral principle; but the letter of the constitution, as of every other pledge, was to him inviolable. He had the sentiment of a hereditary conservatism in a very happy union with such an appreciation of human rights and of the destinies of our republic, as forbade anything like the weakness of wishing to keep all things as they were. Few men have more of the taste for improvement in every direction; it was the impulse of his activity of mind, as well as of his benevolence. Never could he be named as one whom the times had left behind; his sanguine thought more than kept pace with their progress.

Through his influence the savings bank, the first in that part of the state, was at an early period established in the community where he lived, and he was the president of the institution till his decease. In a different sphere he gave himself from the beginning to the work of founding and carrying on a Sunday school in his parish, when such arrangements were comparatively unknown, and there, very largely through his labors and those of his family, it has been the source of valuable good. His position and interests compelled him to participate in every movement which had for its end the promotion of trade, manufactures, agriculture, facility of intercourse, or general improvement. But it was also the impulse of his own mental activity, and never weary benevolence.

For many years, I believe, he held the office of an overseer of Bowdoin College, and for nineteen years that of trustee, which he relinquished only on reaching the age of seventy-eight. He was long President of the Bible Society of the county of Kennebec. As one of the visitors from year to year of the Lunatic Asylum at Augusta, he became familiar with one of the noblest charities of the state, not the less, but all the more requiring the most constant, wise and tender supervision. That he was elected President over the Maine Historical Society, and held that office for eleven years, was a tribute not so much to any special devotion to antiquarian pursuits, or even to historical studies, though he enriched the publications of the society with very valuable matter from his pen, especially a history of the Kennebec purchase, and a sketch of the life of Dr. Benjamin Vaughan, as to his general intelligence, to the respect felt for his high character, to his qualifications as a punctual, prompt and courteous chairman, and to the somewhat historical place he must always sustain in the local annals of the state.

The lapse of years which we have somewhat anticipated saw in the person of Mr. Gardiner only those changes which carried on the delicate youth, for whose life his friends almost despaired, into a manhood of established health and singular alertness and activity, and then into an old age, wonderfully fresh and well strung. He was short of stature and light of form, with a quick, cheerful gray eye, and a step so rapid, so elastic, and a presence of mind so instant as to have often carried him through perilous accidents, when a moment might have brought great injury, and perhaps death. Never addicted to the sports of the field, or to any scenes of excitement, he read much, rode much, walked but little, and was always abstemious in his diet.

Fond, but not to excess, of intelligent society, ever employed, ever in the bosom of his family, always careful

to arrange his time for every engagement, and almost always before his time; it pleased him, in his daily life, to preserve accurate meteorological tables, and in his later years to perform this service for the national purposes of the Smithsonian Institute. In a country comparatively new, many of the customs of families and individuals, especially under the severity of a northern winter, must be liable to interruption and irregularity; but Mr. Gardiner, without being the slave of method, loved it, and passed his days in a succession of occupations which left no hour idle or useless.

It was scarcely possible that there should not be in a small New England town, some readiness on some side to misconceive the position and the character of one whom Providence had placed where he stood. He had inherited, under an entail, the title to the whole of the soil; he was still by far the largest landholder; he had been born in England; his family had been tories; his name had been changed to perpetuate the remembrance of a family, and in accordance with a custom of the mother country; he had been vested, under the will of his ancestor, with the patronage of the church which, however, he had gracefully relinquished; he held, and had at one time resolved to leave to his children as a patrimony, the water privileges on the Cobbosee Contee; he had thus many tenants; his housekeeping was on a scale of considerable expense; his hospitality was abundant; the distance in habits, manners, tastes, seemed to many forbidding, and to imply exclusiveness, and suggest haughtiness; and so there was room enough for a popular jealousy, if not for an envious dislike. It is much to say, but it is true, that in the face of all this difficulty Mr. Gardiner and his numerous family of sons and daughters did so bear themselves with such conscientiousness and kindness, that the feeling itself never rose beyond a slight ripple, and that they were regarded as the neighbors and friends of all. Whatever might be the

actual diversity of education, position, or social habits, there are probably few places in which any separation of classes has been less invidiously maintained or imagined.

It was in the year 1834, on the 11th of November, that the mansion of Mr. Gardiner, which had been the seat of so much happiness, was destroyed by fire at noonday. With it perished many of his books and papers, and our local history will always sustain a loss through that conflagration. In the design of rebuilding he determined to adopt a more durable material, and he called in the advice of Mr. Upjohn, the distinguished architect of Trinity Church, New York. The beautiful house of stone which was thus built was, doubtless, more expensive than the owner had intended, but it certainly presents, with its fine site and background, the noblest example, though severely simple, of an English country residence, almost castellated in aspect, which can be found in this part of our country. Many a more costly abode has failed to leave such an impression on the beholder, or so to enrich its own neighborhood with the sense of a moral beauty united with a historical significance. The house of Oaklands, as long as it remains, will be to the dwellers along those banks of the Kennebec, the memorial of the largeness of mind, the taste, the hospitality and all the domestic virtue of him who, though no longer in life on that spot, so well adorned the full character of the christian citizen, gentleman, landlord, friend and father.

The other losses by fire, which in the course of years were sustained by Mr. Gardiner, especially in the repeated destruction of mills and machinery, materially diminished his estate, which was even more seriously affected by his honorable determination to assume responsibilities to which he could have been held by no other obligation but that of the most delicate feeling of honor. In the administration of a large-landed property, from which parts were under leases involving a variety of mutual engage-

ments, and parts were continually sold to persons who held them under mortgage for the payment of most of the original prices, it was impossible that the most upright man should not sometimes meet the complaints of the discontented, the uncalculating and the unfortunate. Extreme kindness of heart could only aggravate the evil, by encouraging habits of looseness and neglect. "The Squire," which was the familiar old English title by which he was known through all the country round, leaned, if there was a failing even there, "to virtue's side." If the interest of anyone suffered, it was not the interest of the poor.

The nine children of Mr. Gardiner all grew up to maturity. Of his three sons, the eldest married in Georgia, and, having property and friends at both extremes of the country, was accustomed to divide his time between both; the second was an officer in the army of the United States; the third a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Of his six daughters, three died before him, one of them, the young wife of a gentleman of Georgia, the brother-in-law of her eldest brother, and two unmarried and at home, leaving the rich memory of their deeds of piety and love. Two of his surviving daughters were married; the elder rearing up her family on an estate carved out from his own; the other living in Boston, while the youngest of all remained at home to cherish the advancing age of both her parents. It was not free from some sorrows of the tenderest and saddest hue. They could not look on the blue waters of the Kennebec which glided before their windows, and not sometimes think of some whom those waters had covered. But a signal blessing still rested upon the household, and to very few men has it been granted to see in so large a family a spirit of such uniform and honorable adherence to the principles and character which it was his best and highest ambition to bequeath.

It was not till a late period of his life that Mr. Gardiner

even began to withdraw himself from the daily occupations of business. He loved its activity, and his mind was wonderfully capable of bearing along at the same time a multitude of details, each falling into its own place. It was almost a necessity to him that each hour should bring its task, and that this should then give place to the next; he cared not that it should linger, even though it were pleasant. His yearly visit to Boston, though sometimes more brief than before, occupied a large part of almost every winter, and was arranged even for that which was his last.

A more beautiful old age has seldom been seen. The kindly brightness of his eye was not dim, nor his natural force so abated as to prevent his characteristic activity. A long journey still revived him from all sense of weariness, and with undiminished interest he read and heard of all events, efforts, discoveries and improvements which promised any blessing to mankind.

He had been disappointed in none of his children, and all of them were often around him. At the Popham celebration, in 1862, he had passed the age of eighty, and yet he returned unfatigued, except for a few hours, from that exhausting day. His mental powers never decayed, nor seemed materially slower in their exercise. The conjugal felicity of almost sixty years was still bright with the same manly and delicate tenderness, as courteous, cordial and graceful as ever. His seat in the house of God was never vacant, unless under the pressure of some occasional illness, nor was his voice ever behind the foremost in the devout responses of the liturgy, which he had loved from his childhood. As long as he lived he had pleasure in the society of his friends, and almost as long was an assiduous correspondent. Towards the close, at the suggestion of one of his children, he prepared for his family a narration of the principal events of his earlier life, and of many of the more important incidents of his

later history, which, though designed only for his own circle, and in its nature private, had much of the peculiar charm of some of the most attractive autobiographies.

The shadow of the great war hung over his last days, and, like so many other venerable and patriotic citizens, he was removed before its issue was more than a matter of confident hope. While he acquiesced in the stern necessity of the strongest martial means, and detested the whole spirit, design and motive of the rebellion, he yet contemplated with foreboding, perhaps even with timidity, the changes which the future might bring forth. But it was not with any unmanly nervousness that he met the crisis, nor was his evening made unhappy by any distrust of the good Providence which has ever watched over our country.

In the autumn of 1863, some indications of disease led him to seek medical advice, and it appeared that his symptoms, though otherwise not very serious in themselves, yet betokened the existence of a fatal malady. With the same promptness and accuracy with which he would have inquired into the probable sequence of any common events of interest, he desired to ascertain, as far as might be, the time which would probably elapse, and the degree of suffering which would precede the issue. He was told that the process might continue through most of the winter, and that it would be attended with much pain. The former prediction was verified, the latter was mercifully disappointed. He received both with the most meek and cheerful submission, and blessed God without ceasing, that his decline was without the distress for which he had been prepared. Every arrangement was made with readiness, yet with deliberation for life and for death alike. Every Sunday he was in his pew, till the prolonged position of sitting became painful and injurious, and then a lounge was prepared for him in the adjoining vestry room. For the last time he reclined there on Christmas

day; and having come out to receive the Lord's supper at the alter-rail, was obliged to leave the church without delay, and never visited it again. He was able much longer to continue his occasional rides, but every week the space of his exertions grew narrower with the most regular progress, till they were limited to the grounds, then to the house, then to the chamber, and at last for a very little while to the bed. All his children were around him through the winter, and repeatedly received with him the holy sacrament. His daily delight was in prayers, hymns and thanksgivings. On Tuesday, the 22d of March, 1864, just as the sun went down, pouring its beams into the western window of the room, he expired, in the midst of his family, in the full possession of all his powers, and in the calmest enjoyment of "a reasonable, religious and holy hope." It was the Tuesday in passion week; and so it befell that his burial took place about the same hour of the day, on the Friday on which the church commemorates the crucifixion of the Redeemer.

Amidst the reverence and sorrow of a grateful assembly, his body was laid close by the church which he had so largely built, and under the shadow of the trees which he had planted, to await the resurrection of the just.

NOTICE OF

RT. REV. GEORGE BURGESS, D. D.,

FIRST BISHOP OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN MAINE.

BY REV. F. GARDINER, D. D.

GEORGE BURGESS was born October 31st, 1809, at Providence, Rhode Island. The following particulars in regard to his ancestry are from a genealogy of the Burgess family published by the Rev. Dr. Ebenezer Burgess, of Dedham, Massachusetts. Thomas Burgess arrived with a young family at Salem not far from 1630, and soon removed to Sandwich, where, in the association of settlers, he was "a chief man among them." He was an original member of the church instituted there in 1638, and with advancing years became a large landholder, being familiarly known as "Goodman Burgess." He served the town in every office in its gift, from the humblest to the highest, and died February 13th, 1685, at the age of eighty-two. His third son was Jacob, and Jacob's son, Ebenezer, removed to that part of Plymouth called Wareham. Ebenezer's third son of the same name was the father of three sons, the youngest of whom, Prince, was the grandfather of the Bishop. It is recorded of Prince Burgess that "in persevering industry and religious trust he served God and his generation to the good age of eighty-four years. In the

“revolutionary war he joined the armies of his country for
“a short campaign, and he bore the title of Lieutenant to
“the end of life.”

The second son of Prince was Thomas Burgess, the father of the Bishop. He graduated at Brown University in 1800, and settled in Providence. In 1803 he married Mary, daughter of Andrew Mackie, M. D., of Wareham, Massachusetts, and of Scotch descent. He became judge of the municipal court of Providence, and subsequently chief justice of the common pleas. “Distinguished through
“life by scrupulous integrity, by habits of great industry,
“and by the conscientious discharge of every trust, as well
“as by eminent sagacity and prudence, he merited and
“acquired the confidence of his fellow-citizens in a manner
“that is accorded only to the most blameless. . . . The
“honorable profession of the law has seldom furnished a
“worthier example of the christian duties than his character
“displayed from youth to age; uprightness, fidelity,
“discretion, diligence and the fear of God. At an early
“period Judge Burgess and his wife were united with the
“church of Christ, and maintained an exemplary deport-
“ment to the end of life.” For the last twelve years of his life he was a member of the standing committee of the Episcopal Church in Rhode Island. His eldest son, Thomas Mackie, was for ten successive years mayor of his native city of Providence.

The strong traits of character noticeable in the above brief genealogy were fully inherited by the subject of the present memoir, and it was under such influences as have been indicated that he received his early nurture. In his case eminently, “the child was father of the man,” and George Burgess was distinguished in childhood by the same qualities which so strongly characterized him in after years: intellectually, by a love of reading and study and a marked development of poetic powers, and morally, by perseverance, truthfulness and kindliness, united to a

chivalric courage, love of fairness, and conscientious fortitude. He was noted too, for his zeal and manliness in the sports of childhood, into which a robust constitution enabled him to enter with advantage. At twelve years his part at a school exhibition was an original ballad for which he was prepared by his already considerable poetical and historical reading. At this time he was quite fitted for college, but being thought by his father too young to enter, he was taken from school and passed a year in the study of French, and miscellaneous reading.

In 1822 he entered Brown University, being then not quite thirteen, and the youngest member of his class. His fidelity of character appeared here in the fact that he was never absent during the course from either prayers or recitation, and was never marked deficient. He was once, only, absent from church on Sunday, when, having fainted at the morning service, he was not allowed to go out in the afternoon. From the first he took a high stand in his class, and graduated in 1826 with the highest honors.

The Bishop's family for generations had been Congregationalists, but during his childhood his father's pastor became Unitarian. His parents, although not receiving the new theological views of their pastor, continued, from personal attachment, to attend his ministrations. The discrepancy which thus arose between the instructions from the pulpit and the teachings of his home, led the young George Burgess to a careful examination of the subject. Beginning the study with earnestness when about fifteen, he did not lose sight of it until towards the close of 1828 he made his final choice by becoming a communicant of St. John's church. One sister was confirmed with him, and his father and mother also joined him a few years later. It was probably these circumstances which in later years gave him especial interest in the preparation of his well known "Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England."

He had now been graduated something over two years, and had spent the time in the study of law in his father's office. He completed his course of study, which intensely interested him, but was never admitted to the bar. Before finishing his law studies he became convinced that duty required him to devote his life to the service of God in the ministry. Just at this time a tutorship was offered him in Brown University, which he accepted, and continued to discharge its duties from 1829 to 1831, meantime pursuing his theological studies under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Crocker. In the spring of the latter year he went abroad, spending two years in study at the Universities of Gottingen, Bonn and Berlin, and a third year in European travel. Among the distinguished men whose lectures he attended, may be mentioned, at Bonn, Nitzsch, Sack, and Freytag; at Berlin, Schleiermacher, Neander, and Hengstenberg; at Gottingen he appears to have remained only three months on his first arrival, and was not as yet sufficiently familiar with the language to profit much by the lectures, but he had letters from Robinson to Luche, and enjoyed his intercourse with him. He was deeply impressed with the superior facilities for study afforded in Germany, and the following entry occurs among others in his journal: "It is painful to think of the absolute impossibility of thorough fundamental investigation with our exceedingly limited means in America." A full generation has since passed away, and very much has in the mean time been done to remove the deficiencies among us; but as these words are still almost literally true now, how much more must they have meant thirty-three years ago.

Returning from Europe in April, 1834, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Griswold on the tenth of June in the same year, in Grace church, Providence. He soon received an invitation to the temporary charge of St. James church, New London, with a probability of his becoming the

rector. Going to Hartford to consult with Bishop Brownell, he was urged instead, to become assistant for two months in Christ Church, Hartford, of which Bishop Brownell had temporary charge during a vacancy in the rectorship. He finally decided to accept the Bishop's invitation, and before the two months had passed was unanimously asked to become the permanent rector of the parish. He was accordingly admitted to the priesthood, and instituted rector of the parish on the same day, November 2nd, 1834. By an unusual arrangement he preached his own institution sermon. In this parish he remained during the thirteen succeeding years, or until his elevation to the episcopate.

On the 26th of October, 1846, he was married to Sophia, daughter of Leonard Kip, Esq., and sister of the Rev. I. W. Kip, D. D., (now Bishop of the Episcopal church in California.) She still survives him. By her he had one daughter who died, unmarried, May 1st, 1873.

In 1846 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, both from his own Alma Mater, Brown University, and also from Union College, Schenectady. The same degree was subsequently conferred by Bishop's College, in the See of Quebec.

The thirteen years of his parish life in Hartford were marked by quiet, but steady and unwearied activity in parochial work, and also by the discharge of much more public duty in the diocese and in the church at large, as well as in his capacity of a citizen of Hartford. His parish was the mother church of Hartford, and when he took charge of it, and for some years afterwards, was the only Episcopal church in the city. Among his parishioners were therefore included the many eminent names whom Hartford has given from that congregation to literature, to the judiciary and to the various walks of civil life, and by all of them who survive, Bishop Burgess is remembered, not only with the respect due to the upright pastor and the

wise counsellor, but with the warm affection of a personal friend. He was always most diligent in his parochial ministrations, especially among the sick, the afflicted, and the poor,—the ministrations in which he most delighted. To the poor, temporal aid was wont to accompany spiritual counsel, and that not merely by the giving of money, but the humblest forms of manual labor were welcome to him in the relief of the poor widow or friendless person. These habits were the more remarkable because, by natural temperament, he was exceedingly diffident. His first visit to a new family was apt to be stiff and uninteresting. He was silent, and sometimes even gave the impression of being a cold and ungenial man. But all such impressions vanished on a closer acquaintance, and among his older parishioners his frequent visits were always greeted with joy. The time occupied in his long and frequent walks in the visitation of distant parishioners was economized by reading as he went.

The same successful overcoming of natural disinclination by resolutely and constantly acting from a sense of duty, was visible in his treatment of his Sunday school. He thought he had no faculty for speaking to children, yet week by week, year in and year out, he was always to be found for a few minutes, at least, in the desk of his Sunday school room, giving simple and earnest instructions which always interested the children at the time, and which are now treasured up by many as the precious legacy of a wise and holy man.

Of sermons he ordinarily prepared two every week. He spoke easily and well extemporarily, but seldom or never used that method at the regular morning and afternoon services of the Sunday. At a third service on Sunday evening, or at his weekly lectures, he always spoke without notes, although not without preparation; and his extemporaneous addresses after he became a Bishop, to candidates for confirmation, and on missionary subjects at

gatherings of the clergy, were peculiarly felicitous and useful. In these, as well as in those not infrequent public addresses which he was called upon, as a prominent citizen to make, his thought was always striking and to the point, and his language not merely fluent, but of the choicest English, and exquisitely moulded to his purpose. Notwithstanding this power, however, he feared to forego the full labor of writing out his regular Sunday sermons, lest he should be tempted to slight his preparation for them. He seldom resorted to an old sermon, and even when he went to a new parish, with the added duties of the episcopate, his sermons were still, for the most part, freshly written. The following anecdote may illustrate the rapidity with which many of his sermons were prepared. "He once delivered a lecture before the Connecticut "Historical Society upon the condition in their native "country, of the early settlers of New England. This "lecture was deemed a most valuable historical document, "and a copy was requested for preservation in the archives "of the society. He readily acceded to the request, upon "the condition that some one was employed to copy it. As "the lecture contained many proper names, the person "employed was unable to decipher them. To obviate this "difficulty, he read a sentence of the lecture aloud, and "while the copyist was writing it down, he occupied himself "in writing a sermon. By the time the lecture was "finished, he had finished the sermon." From this habit of rapid and frequent writing, it necessarily followed that his ordinary sermons could not embody that amount of thought and receive that care in preparation which should constitute them what are called "great sermons." They were rather the outpouring of a full christian heart and mind, always expressed in the finest English, and always full of rich practical experience, and wise christian counsel. They were sermons under which any congregation would grow in the christian life. Their general character is fairly

shown in the volume of "Sermons on the Christian Life," most reluctantly published by him in 1854. Occasionally, however, he prepared sermons of a more elaborate character, which called for the exercise of ripest thought. These were delivered from time to time in the regular course of his ministrations. But only a few of them, preached on occasions which seemed to require it, have ever been given to the press. The characteristic of all his preaching was christian strength. He had no sympathy with sentimentalism, and small tolerance for bigotry. Characterized himself by breadth, strength and manliness of mind and character, he sought to lift his congregation to the same plane.

The parish at Hartford, under the faithful labors of its youthful pastor, began to grow, and after a few years attained such a size that it required the work of more than one pastor. It became evident that it must be divided. This is proverbially a trying time for the rector of the old congregation, and the first division of the old parish is too frequently attended with heart-burnings and disagreements. Nothing of all this, however, occurred in the present case. The necessity of a division was apparent, and it was accomplished as a friendly separation, the intercourse between the parishes and their rectors being placed from the first on the most cordial footing. At the end of Mr. Burgess' first year in charge of his parish, October, 1834, it numbered one hundred and seventy-two families, and two hundred and ten communicants; in 1841, when the division was effected, four hundred and forty-one families and three hundred and twelve communicants. Of these, one-third went to form the new parish; but their numbers were more than made good again, and he finally left the parish in 1847, to become the first Bishop of Maine, with the names of four hundred and two communicants on his list. During the whole of his thirteen years' ministry in Hartford he received over seven hundred and fifty persons

into the communion of the church, and in place of the one parish he found in the city there are now seven.

In the midst of his faithful and abundant labors in his own parish, he was always ready for extra work for others. Judge Huntington, an early parishioner, and always a faithful friend, writes: "He was most remarkable for the employment of all his hours. By this means his own work was always done, and he had time, whenever called upon, to do for others. He never declined any duty or labor consistent with his position. So well known was this trait in his character, that clergymen of the various denominations in Hartford, when called upon for the performance of duties by persons not connected with any church, not unfrequently sent the applicant to Mr. Burgess, knowing as they did, that he was always ready for any extra service."

Such ministerial services, whether within or without his parish, constituted by no means the only claims at this period upon his time and his attention. He took a lively interest, as a citizen, in all that was going on around him. The taste for historical investigation which had marked his earliest studies, and continued unabated to the end of life, made him in Connecticut, as in Maine, a valued contributor to the Historical Society. His poetical abilities led to his being several times called upon to prepare and deliver poems in public. Two of these were published: "The Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul," delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa of Brown University; and "The Strife of Brothers," a poem filled with the very spirit of heavenly charity, written in view of certain controversies then existing in the church in which he was personally and deeply interested. Others, as his poetical sketch of sacred poetry, delivered before the convocation of the college in Hartford, are still remembered with something like enthusiasm by men, eminent now, but who were then among his juvenile listeners. In regard to the particular power men-

tioned, Bishop Williams, in 1867, writes: "The graceful "Spenserian stanza, swelling onward 'till the ninth billow "meets the shore,' was properly adapted to the tones and "modulations of his voice, and fell in wonderfully with his "modest personal allusions and general line of thought. I "have heard many poems delivered in my day, but never one "that impressed me more than the one of which I speak. "There are passages in it that ring in my memory to-day "as clearly and as freshly as they rang upon my ear more "than twenty years ago." From these and the recollections of others, it would appear that the poetical power of Bishop Burgess was great enough to have insured him a high rank among poets, had not his busy and useful life otherwise absorbed his attention. The published poems he has left were only his recreations, not his serious work. The smoothness and finish of his verse was perhaps the consequence of his wonderful power over the English language; but he had also in a marked degree the higher gifts which constitute the true poet. These, however, were made entirely subservient to the great purpose of doing his Master's work, and his view of duty led him to the employment of his powers in other ways. Still from time to time he gave some indulgence to the muse, and one of the fruits of this was a metrical version of the Book of Psalms (1840) —a publication not to be confounded with another and later one (1864), "The American Metrical Psalter," in which he undertook to give from all sources the best version in metre of the Psalms.

Meantime Dr. Burgess was in the habit of contributing valuable articles to various magazines and periodicals, of which no list has been preserved. But his deepest interest, outside of parochial duties, was in the college in Hartford, at first called Washington, but now Trinity College. During the first seven years of his rectorship; when there was no other Episcopal church in the city, the officers and students of the college were his parishioners. His visits

among the undergraduates were frequent and his influence over them most effective, although always, as was a necessity of his nature, unobtrusive. In his parochial report for 1837, it is recorded that more than thirty of them were communicants. So strong was his interest in the college, and so obviously important his influence there, that this connection constituted one of his reasons for hesitancy when elected to the episcopate in Maine. He not only took some part in the instructions of the college, but he also gladly gave private lessons in Hebrew to a small class of students looking forward to the ministry. The character of his influence upon young men is happily expressed in the following extract from an account given of it by one originally a candidate for orders in his diocese, but now himself a bishop in a distant part of the church: "Bishop Burgess had some peculiar qualifications for interesting young men. He was sympathetic in his nature. He was gentle and considerate in his intercourse. He could give advice or administer reproof without seeming to dictate, and impart instruction without appearing to exact a feeling of humiliation. His words and manner, like the expression of his countenance, were the index of his kindness of heart and sweetness of disposition. His conversation was full of seeds of thought. It was to an extraordinary degree animating and inspiring. One could not be long in his presence without a feeling of elevation, and an impulse to higher and nobler living. His influence is not to be explained by his intellectual character alone, great as this was. The impression that he made was preëminently that of saintliness. It was felt that his plane of living was higher than that of ordinary christians. You took knowledge of him that he had been with Jesus. His whole mind and heart were engrossed with the motives, the aims, the work of his apostolic office. He lived in a spiritual atmosphere, and that atmosphere ever surrounded him. He seemed to exalt you to sit with him in the

"heavenly places in Christ Jesus. Christian young men, "whose privilege it was to enjoy his friendship, will all "agree in this testimony. They went forth from his presence, or rose from the perusal of his letters even, with "better resolves, with higher aims, with an increase of "strength for devotion to study, and for manly and christian living."

It is more than time to pass from this period in the life of Bishop Burgess. Before doing so, however, a note must be made of the publications for which he found time while so abundantly occupied in many other ways. Five of his sermons were published, the last of them being one preached at the annual meeting of the General Board of Missions, in New York, June 18th, 1845—a sermon that produced a very wide and deep impression. Besides these, and besides his articles in periodicals, his separate publications were mostly poetical, and have been already incidentally mentioned: "The Martyrdom of St. Peter and "St. Paul," a poem before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Brown University; "The Book of Psalms, translated into "English verse, with notes," 1840; and "The Strife of "Brothers," published anonymously in 1844. In 1847, he published his "Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of "New England, during the century between 1740 and 1840," in which was traced, with wonderful research, among contemporary documents, the rise and progress of Unitarianism in New England. This publication awakened some temporary animosity towards its author; but in a letter written at the time he says of it himself: "In writing it, I was governed, "I believe, by no other feeling than a simple, honest desire "to contribute something which might be read, towards the "illustration of a great movement, which has involved more "or less the highest interests of the people of New England."

In October, 1847, Dr. Burgess was elected to the episcopate in Maine. Virtually the election was deter-

mined with unanimity some months in advance, although there were canonical reasons why, formally, it could neither be made earlier nor deferred later, so that when it was finally completed and announced, Dr. Burgess had already had ample time for consideration, and had only to communicate the result. His previous deliberation had been very earnest, and his conclusion was based on the most unselfish grounds. There were but seven clergymen to greet the arrival of their Bishop, and the whole number of communicants in his diocese was but little in excess of that in his parish at Hartford. To provide for his support it was necessary that he should take charge of a parish, in every way less attractive than the one he resigned, and at a much smaller salary, while his Episcopal income was fixed by himself at two hundred dollars a year, as large a sum as, in his view, the diocese could conveniently pay. Nevertheless, he deemed it his duty to accept the election, which was readily confirmed in the general convention, and on his birthday, October 31st, 1847, was consecrated, in the church of which he had been so long the rector, as the first Bishop of the diocese of Maine. His removal to Gardiner followed immediately, and he there undertook also, the rectorship of that parish.

Of this rectorship it is unnecessary to speak at length. During the eighteen years of its continuance it was marked by the same characteristics as have already been seen in Hartford. The town was far smaller, the church smaller, and the circle of cultivated society more limited. It was also more remote from the centres of commercial and intellectual activity, and the opportunities for the growth of the church far more restricted. But the preaching of the Bishop was characterized by the same earnest unfolding of the manly christian life, and his parochial ministrations by the same faithfulness and untiring assiduity. As a citizen, he indeed occupied a more prominent place in a smaller community, and in his earnestness

as a clergyman he never lost sight of the fact that he was also a member of the state. While he utterly abstained from what would be called "taking part in politics," he yet never hesitated on proper occasions to express his convictions. During the trying times of our civil war, he was perfectly open in the warmth of his patriotic expression, yet this was done with such evident conscientiousness, and withal with so much of kindness and courtesy, that he alienated neither the respect nor the affection of prominent parishioners whose sympathies were strongly with the south. At elections he always considered it his duty to exercise his franchise, and he was the more respected for doing so; and he was always perfectly open and full in the declaration of his property to the assessor of taxes. When he passed away he was regretted as a citizen without reproach, and his personal influence upon the community in which he lived continued to survive him. He never suffered profanity to fall upon his ear as he was travelling, or in the street without rebuke, and such was the power of his presence that the rebuke was never received in an unkindly,—sometimes in a most grateful spirit. In everything which interested the community he felt an interest, and the influence of his pen or his tongue was sure to be felt on the side of kindness, honor and uprightness. During the continuance of the civil war there was something almost romantic in his patriotism. He always bowed to everyone who wore the blue coat of the union army, and being asked by his little girl why he did so, wrote in answer, lines, the opening and closing stanzas of which may be quoted in illustration of his motive:

"You asked me, little one, why I bowed
Though never I passed the man before?
Because my heart was full and proud
When I saw the old blue coat he wore;
The blue great coat, the sky blue' coat,
The old blue coat the soldier wore.

* * * * *

“And so, my child, will you and I,
For whose fair home their blood they pour,
Still bow the head, as one goes by,
Who wears the coat that soldier wore ;
That blue great coat, the sky blue coat,
The old blue coat the soldier wore.”

His Episcopal office, during the eighteen years of its continuance, was discharged faithfully and unostentatiously, as might have been expected from his character. Every parish, every clergyman, and every candidate for orders was personally known to him, and all looked to him with unbounded affection and respect. His counsel and his sympathy were ever ready, and were freely called upon. Feeble parishes and needy students were liberally aided by his purse to an extent that would have been impossible but for his practice of a very simple and economical style of living. In proportion to his means he was probably by far the most liberal giver in his diocese. Yet in this he was not indiscriminate; the same judiciousness which marked his conduct in other respects, was also conspicuous here. This only failed when his kindness of heart made him shrink from enforcing pecuniary obligations which it was onerous to others to meet.

But except as affected his own pecuniary interests, he was firm and unflinching. Nothing could divert him from the discharge of the full measure of what he conceived to be his duty. The forgetfulness of self, the readiness to undergo fatigue, the readiness to spend and be spent in the service of his Master, made this comparatively easy when he was himself the only sufferer. It is now easy to see that he carried this too far, and that, humanly speaking, years of usefulness might have been added to his life by an ordinary regard to the necessities of rest and relaxation. His fault in this matter however, was by no means a false

estimate of the value of life or of the duty of caring for health, but only that he was too intensely absorbed in his work to see that health and life were endangered when this was already too evident to every other eye. He did not expect from others either the labor or the self-denial he exacted from himself; but when he saw those over whom he had influence or authority negligent in what seemed to him obvious duty, his reproofs, although given in kindness, were yet searching and unsparing. Such reproofs may have been in some rare cases unjust and undeserved, for it is given to no man always to understand the reasons for the conduct of another; but they were given from such an obvious sense of duty, and with such genuine kindness towards the offender, albeit with the sharpest rebuke of the offence, that they never were received in an unkindly spirit.

He left his diocese small as compared with other dioceses, but relatively large as compared with its condition when it came under his charge. The parishes and the clergy both increased threefold, and the communicants of the church in the same proportion. The actual number of admissions to the communion of the church was really considerably larger, for Maine is not a state which receives any considerable accessions from beyond its borders, while on the other hand it is called upon to sustain a very large emigration, and this especially from that more active class from whom the church might be expected chiefly to make its acquisitions. Bishop Burgess never aimed, however, at a mere numerical increase of his charge as a desirable end; he sought to advance the gospel "as this church hath received the same," but first and before all, the gospel. Even to an applicant from the ministry, of another denomination, his first replies were too cautious to be considered as encouraging, and encouragement only came when he was satisfied that the mind of the applicant was decided on grounds not easily shaken.

It was his custom in the administration of confirmation to request the candidates to remain a few moments after the service. They were then made known to him individually, and to each he spoke a few appropriate words. During the whole course of his episcopate he never forgot one whom he had thus addressed.

It generally happened that the Bishop had near him one or more candidates for orders, (at one time as many as six) who were pursuing their studies under his direction, and in part, at least, under his own immediate instruction. For the duties involved in this he was qualified by his rich and varied scholarship, and although he disliked and shrank from the mere office of the pedagogue, he proved a most efficient and valuable guide and director, and also in his own peculiar way, a most efficient instructor. His teaching of ecclesiastical history, his favorite study, may serve as an example of his method. The students recited from the usual textbooks to another, and also, for the most important epochs, were required to study the original authorities. They then went to the lectures of the Bishop. These were delivered without notes, and with but little of special preparation, from the fulness of his most intimate knowledge of the subject. "His plan was to divide each century into three spaces, each embracing the ordinary lifetime of a generation, and through the whole of which individual men might have been active in carrying on by themselves, and in handing down to others who were to succeed them, the work and life of the church. A personal chain of labor, of teaching, and of authority, was thus established, reaching from the ministry of our Lord Himself, down to our own day. Beginning with the generation who were alive during the Saviour's own sojourn upon earth, and some of whom knew Him personally in the flesh, he devoted one lecture of an hour to each of the fifty-six generations since. The object of the lecture was to give a brief, comprehensive view of the

“church, and of the world in its relations to the church
“during that generation. The individual actors and
“writers in each were brought prominently forward and
“portrayed by a few graphic touches, while their personal
“connections and influences were never lost sight of. The
“hearer was transported into the midst of the generation
“described, and led to look out from the stand-point of
“those who were then alive; to think and feel for the
“moment with them; to see what were their purposes and
“aims, and to recognize the consequences resulting from
“their acts. Amid all the mass and variety of matter thus
“necessarily brought forward, attention was especially
“called to individual christians who had personally known
“and conversed with others of the previous generation,
“whom he had in the same way pointed out in the pre-
“ceding lecture, and who were themselves in like manner
“known to men of the generation following. In this way a
“direct line of personal knowledge was traced from the
“speaker and the hearer to the very presence of our Lord.
“The possibility of ascertaining such a line might be
“doubted beforehand; it was accomplished by the Bishop
“with certainty and security. Great as is the interest and
“value of such a thread, it would seem that in the tangled
“web of human affairs it must needs be sometimes lost,
“and the extensiveness and minuteness of the Bishop’s
“learning became very conspicuous in his ability to trace
“it out completely. The difficulties were often great, and
“especially where the link between prominent actors of
“history was to be sought out in obscurity; but these he
“never failed to overcome, and the long chain of personal
“acquaintance through all the centuries of the christian
“era was finally established on an unquestionable basis.
“It was an especial delight to him when some long life,
“such as that of the beloved disciple, enabled him to link
“two or three generation together by a twofold cord, and
“thus, as it were, to bridge over a generation and bring the

“one beyond it into immediate conduct with the one
“before.”*

In other departments of study his methods were equally well adapted to their end; and although his learning was most extraordinary in the department of history, it was remarkable in all, except in the natural sciences, for which he had no taste. The actors in English history were all personally familiar to him in all their family connections and individual relations. His copy of Burke's *Peerage* was a well-thumbed volume, constantly resorted to to refresh his knowledge of the relationships and affinities of those who occupied a prominent place in guiding the destinies of our mother country. French, from his early study, and German, from his three years residence in Germany during his last preparatory studies, were entirely familiar to him, and were of constant use in placing at his disposal the treasures of their literature. The Greek and Latin classics, from economy of time, he did not read much except in translations; but his Greek testament was always in his valise when he travelled, as well as on his table at home, and was the text he was accustomed to use in his more familiar lectures. He was so conversant with its exact language as often to quote it from memory, readily and accurately, whenever in conversation the discussion of any particular point made it desirable. The Hebrew Bible he had read through systematically in his early ministry, and his familiarity with it was daily renewed. On one occasion he was unexpectedly examining a candidate for orders where there happened to be but one Hebrew Bible in the room. This was given to the student who selected his own passage to read and translate, the Bishop without a book, correcting his Hebrew or prompting the translation as there was occasion. With the English

* *Memoir of the life of the Right Rev. George Burgess*, edited by the Rev. A. Burgess, D. D., p. 291.

Bible he was so familiar as never to need, or even to own a concordance. With the period between the times of the Old and New Testament histories he was thoroughly familiar from study of the original authorities. The fathers of both the eastern and western church, in the originals had not only been once mastered by him, but from time to time he was accustomed to make a special study of the views of some prominent writer upon particular subjects, and for this purpose to go over the whole of their voluminous works. Thus, for example, within a year or two of his death, he reviewed the whole works of Tertullian, copying out all passages bearing even remotely upon the subjects of infant baptism and the liturgy of the church.

Sermons of the great English divines, as Tillotson, Atterbury, Taylor, Beveridge, Sherlock, Waterland and others, and of the leading dissenters, as Owen, Flavel and Baxter, and also of the great French pulpit orators, Massillon, Bourdaloue, and Bossuet, were read and re-read until each stood in his mind in his own individuality, and the habits of thought and expression of each were distinctly familiar. Meantime he kept himself thoroughly conversant with the doings of his own generation. The daily city papers and the daily London Times, together with several weekly American and English newspapers, both religious and secular, and the larger reviews, were read, rapidly indeed, but regularly and attentively. To his power of reading with extreme rapidity he attached much importance, and he had acquired the habit by long and systematic practice. There was always on his table some solid theological work of the day in German or English, as the case might be, and day by day his work in them was advanced by many pages. The whole collection of British poets was read through many times, and in the quiet of the family circle pages of his favorites were occasionally repeated from memory. With the standard English prose writers he was not less at home; and lighter current

literature, as books of travels, memoirs, and the better class of fiction was reserved for reading aloud in the family. This wide scope of reading, and this constant perusal and re-perusal of the best authors, led to that peculiar beauty and finish of his style which attracted the attention and excited the admiration of those who were themselves masters of English. On one occasion Mr. George Ticknor, the author of "Spanish Literature," read three times through a pamphlet of Bishop Burgess on a subject utterly without interest to him, simply to enjoy the beauty of its language. All this, however, fails to convey a just conception of the many-sidedness of his scholarship. He sought an intimate personal acquaintance with the masters of thought of every age and of every school. Such writers as Alcuin, Alfrie, and Thomas Aquinas are not often known either to theologians or to philosophers from a genuine study of their own writings, yet Bishop Burgess was familiar with them all.

In all his studies his single aim was truth. Doubtless his singularly well balanced mind made it easier to carry this purpose faithfully into practice. But beyond this he had such a deep, abiding conviction of the value of truth, and such a pervading consciousness that the interests of the Master whom he served were not to be permanently advanced by anything but the truth, that he had no motive for misleading either himself or others. Hence in argument he was always fair, and this habitual fairness gave to others great confidence in him personally, and increased the strength of his position on any controverted matter. Especially in his instructions he could afford to allow and to invite the most free and full investigation, and all who enjoyed his teaching were altogether sure that no point would be slurred over in order to lead the mind quickly away from dangerous ground, and that no fascinating theories would be proposed as truth by all means to be received, without thorough examination of their

grounds. Above all, there was never any attempt to overawe a younger mind, and force it into agreement with himself by the show of larger learning and superior wisdom. Yet this freeness of investigation was tempered by a strong conservative spirit, with a reverence for, and generous appreciation of the results attained in ages that had gone before. There was no trace of wilfulness or self-sufficiency in the formation of his opinions.

It may well be supposed that a man of such character and habits would have attracted around him a superior class of clergy. He actually did so, although from the remoteness of his diocese and the smallness of the stipends which most of its parishes could offer, and the very reputation they bore, they were apt to be enticed away after a few years to more inviting fields of labor. Not less than three of those trained in parochial work under his eye were themselves afterwards called to the episcopate, while several others have since occupied positions of great importance in the church. The very fact of the migratory character of his clergy, while it greatly increased the arduousness of his own labor, really extended his influence far and wide. While they remained under his episcopal supervision nothing could have been more delightful than the intercourse held with him, and, through his influence, with one another. However the members of their body might change, they were still a band of brothers engaged in one common and all-important work, and he moved among them as an elder brother, sharing all their toils, and fully sympathizing in all their trials, but with a fullness of learning, a ripeness of wisdom, and above all a maturity of christian character and experience that gave them confidence in his modest and kindly counsels and suggestions.

The Bishop had always an instinctive horror of incurring obligations which he did not clearly see the way to fulfil. This may sometimes have made him too cautious for the attainment of the most rapid results in a work which was

essentially that of a pioneer; but financially, it certainly saved him and all the undertakings in his diocese over which he had control, from that millstone upon prosperity, the incurring of unprovided for indebtedness.

But while the subject of Bishop Burgess' influence and character in his own diocese is far enough from being exhausted, our limits warn us to turn to his position in a wider sphere, as he was a member of the House of Bishops. To say that his influence there was a commanding one would only be to assert what must already be apparent. His character, scholarship, and earnest, unaffected piety, in connection with principles of human nature which are sufficiently familiar, could not but give him influence with his colleagues. But it is evident that in such a body as the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church, the moral power of any one prominent member must greatly increase with his age in office. The average official life of the bishops is about seventeen years, and Bishop Burgess fully reached, and even somewhat exceeded this term. Undoubtedly the peculiar temptation to one holding an office which so much separates him from his fellows, and invests him with so much responsibility, is the love of power; and that this is not merely theoretical but practical, is evidenced by the proverbs which, at least since the days of *Hudibras*, have been embodied in the popular language. Of this temptation he was aware, and against it he stood on his guard, although his whole life was free from any evidence of its assaults. In his sermon at the consecration of Bishop Williams, afterwards published, he showed himself thoroughly alive to this danger. He felt that the temptation came with peculiar power, because each single bishop was the representative of a line, and although he might willingly forego the exercise of any particular power for himself, it was quite another matter to abandon it for his successors. The fairness and consideration for the rights of others which characterized him, once led him

into a minority of two against the whole house of his brethren on a question of this kind, when, nevertheless, the view he sustained ultimately became the law of the church.

Besides his general powerful influence among his brethren in office, and especially in their stated gatherings for legislation as a part of the general convention of the church, and in the board of missions, there were those prominent subjects in which he took so active a part that they can hardly be passed over without mention in this sketch of his life. The first of these is the most painful, and led for a time to much misunderstanding of his character and motives. It was at a time when there was much partisan feeling in the church, and Bishop Burgess, so far as with his independent character he could be classed at all, was reckoned with the low church party. Under these circumstances a prominent, popular and very high church bishop was accused of practices affecting his moral character, and a considerable array of *prima facie* evidence was offered in support of the charges. It was necessary under the existing law of the church that three bishops should concur in presenting the accused for trial. The matter was taken up by two bishops of the extreme low church wing, but they required a third. Under the circumstances no one could be found who was willing to incur the odium. To the friends of the accused Bishop the whole accusation seemed to rest upon a prejudiced misinterpretation of the conduct of the accused, and that the charges would never have been presented but for the excitement of partisan strife. Application was made to Bishop Burgess. He distinctly foresaw the misconstruction of his motives which would be sure to result, and the false position in which he was likely to be placed in the estimation of a considerable body of his fellow churchmen. Nevertheless, here were grave charges brought against the character of a brother bishop supported by the affidavits of responsible men. He felt that alike in justice

to the accused, and for the fair name of the episcopate, they ought to be thoroughly investigated. No one was willing to undertake the invidious task, and with that chivalric forgetfulness of self which was his characteristic, he consented to become one of the presentors. It was so painful an act, and accompanied by so many trying circumstances that all his friends observed a marked and permanent change in the Bishop when it was over. The ultimate result was that the accused confessed to certain things which might have been exaggerated and wrested into the charges actually made, and the House of Bishops, who constituted the court, admonished him and then suspended all further proceedings. But the prejudice created against Bishop Burgess by this most reluctant yet conscientious action, has never yet been fully removed.

The next subject alluded to was of a very different character. A memorial, originating with the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg of New York, was brought before the House of Bishops, looking on the one hand to greater flexibility in the services of the church, and on the other to the encouragement of an approach to unity among christians of various names, who held, nevertheless, substantially the same faith. This memorial engaged the warm sympathy and active coöperation of Bishop Burgess, who was appointed one of a permanent commission of the House of Bishops on christian unity. In respect to both the parts of the memorial he did a work which has left a permanent impress upon the position and the legislation of the church.

In connection with the hymnody of the church, (the third and last of the subjects alluded to,) his part was still more active, and he bestowed upon it an almost incredible amount of labor. First as a member of a volunteer committee he took a large share in the preparation of a volume called "Hymns for Church and Home," to be submitted to the general convention. This led to the appointment of a formal committee on the subject, renewed from time to

time, of which Bishop Burgess continued until his death the acting chairman. The labors of the active members of this committee were very great, but the Bishop excelled them all. The final result was reached only after his death, but he lived to see much important work accomplished. It was in connection with this that he undertook alone a collation of all the complete versions of the psalms in metre which have attained any position in the English language. He examined them all, eighteen in number, verse by verse and line by line, and selecting and combining what seemed most excellent in each, wrote out and published "The American Metrical Psalter." The comparison and selection of eighteen versions, each of one hundred and fifty psalms, would be very far from representing the actual labor; for not merely were the best versions of each psalm as a whole selected, but single lines or even words, were adopted from each. And yet even this was but incidental to the main work on hymnody.

It was often remarked of Bishop Burgess that with all the amount of work which he accomplished, he was never in a hurry, and never too much occupied to receive anyone who called at his study, or to devote to them as much of his time as they were disposed to occupy. Yet, although he sometimes sat late in his study, he was not ordinarily an early riser. The great secret of his work lay in his absolute command over his own mind, and his power of using as he wished absolutely all the time at his disposal.

Most of his separate publications during his residence in Maine have been already mentioned. Several tracts connected with his work were issued, together with a number of sermons on various special occasions, and others, of both classes, have been published since his death. His triennial charges to his clergy, six in number, were all of permanent value, and have become a part of the literature of the church. In 1850 he published a volume of three hundred and thirty pages, designed to remove from the

minds of christians the popular dread of death, entitled "The Last Enemy Conquering and Conquered;" and in 1854, a volume of sermons. He, however, prepared and left behind him several other works, some of which have since been published. Of one of great value on the sources of the gospel of St. Luke, only about twenty pages were printed in the *American Church Review*. A curious and instructive evidence of his diligence was a list left by him in manuscript, (since published under the editorial care of Rev. W. S. Bartlett,) of the date of all ordinations in the American Episcopal Church from the beginning up to A. D. 1857. In 1868 a volume of his poems was published containing several of those which have here been mentioned, with a considerable additional collection. One of these, "The Hours," had been published during his life, and although very brief, attracted at the time much attention. His contributions to the *Maine Historical Society* are upon their records, but his many and valuable contributions to the reviews and magazines of the day can probably now never be collected. He left behind him, too, manuscripts of works more or less completely finished, which alone might have been considered as giving a sufficient account of an ordinarily busy life. The great effectiveness of his life in his literary, as well as in his other labors, was no doubt largely due to the eight years of faithful preparation between his graduation from college, and his ordination to the 'deaconate,—a period nearly three times as long as is generally considered sufficient, but which in its fruits was abundantly proved to have been time well spent.

But his work was done far more by his living influence, action and example, than through the press. No epitaph more true has ever been written than that which his parish placed upon the tablet erected in their church to his memory:

“Learned, judicious, saintly ;

“Living for Christ and the church ;

“Loving all, beloved by all ;

“Faithful in every trust, even unto death.”

His death occurred at sea, April 23d, 1866, on board a vessel in which he had just embarked on his return home after a visitation of the Protestant churches in Hayti,—a visitation which he faithfully and laboriously accomplished in great physical weakness. Thus faithful to the last, he died as he had lived, with the harness of his Master's service ever upon him. His character cannot better be summed up than in the words of a Phi Beta Kappa oration pronounced a year later in Hartford, by the Rev. Dr. Rudder: “I see another standing by this altar,—my “pastor, my gentle critic, and my friend. Learned, yet “humble, so humble that men guess not half how learned “he is; meek, yet firm, so firm in what he believes to be “the right that they cannot imagine even the wells of utter “tenderness that are forever springing in his breast; the “man who, of all I have ever known, seems most constantly “to live in an atmosphere of heaven; the christian scholar. “the christian poet, the christian priest, soon to be the “Bishop, laboring, as such an one must labor, through his “allotted time, and then, from the calm surface of the “summer seas, mounting upwards to his rest in the fiery “chariots of the tropic sun.”

NOTICE OF
HON. GEORGE EVANS.

BY R. H. GARDINER, ESQ.,

OF GARDINER.

THE Maine Historical Society has been wont to inscribe upon its records, in a more or less extended form, a worthy tribute to its departed members, and the more especially if they have been prominent in the doings of the society, and have made a mark on the age in which they lived: hence it seems passing strange that as yet nothing appears on our records to commemorate the name of George Evans, a zealous associate,—one who for so many years as a trustee of Bowdoin, accomplished so much financially, and otherwise, for the college, and who for more than twenty years was the foremost man at the bar in his own state, and whose fame and influence as a statesman, throughout the breadth of the land, was second to none.

I had hoped in the course of this paper to have been able to present some interesting facts relating to the connection of Mr. Evans with the college. We all know of his great ability, and of his life-long interest in the college, but I have applied most earnestly for aid in reference to this subject, in the only quarters where it could be obtained, but in vain.

It is much to be regretted that we cannot at this time have a memoir from one amply fitted to do full justice to his character, both as a member of the bar, as a statesman, and a man, and I ask your indulgence for the short and imperfect sketch I now present, of some of the characteristics of the man whose power and influence at the bar and in congress was unsurpassed.

In preparing this hasty sketch, I may be compelled to quote from some of the eulogies published in the papers of the day, at the time of his death, especially from one written by the member who now addresses you, and published in the local paper of the town where Mr. Evans made his home for forty years of his life.

Mr. Evans was born in Hallowell, January 12, 1797, graduated at Bowdoin College in the class of 1815. In 1818, he was admitted to the bar, and immediately took up his residence in Gardiner. From the moment of entering upon the practice of his profession, he at once took a foremost place amidst such rivals as Ruel Williams, Thomas Bond, Peleg Sprague, Frederic Allen and Timothy Boutelle. Of his distinguished career at the bar it will be a fitter task for a member of the profession to speak; but we may be allowed to say that as a criminal lawyer and a general advocate, in the opinion of many, he was without a peer in New England, and we will only allude, in passing, to the memorable trial of Dr. Coolidge for the murder of Edward Matthews. Mr. Evans' masterly defence of Coolidge is still vividly remembered by all who heard it.

Mr. Evans' political life began by his election to the legislature in 1825, where for four consecutive years he took the lead, and in 1829 was speaker, when the opportunity was afforded him to exhibit his wonderful skill and tact in organizing and controlling a public assembly.

During the session of 1829, Mr. Sprague, the representative in congress from the Kennebec district, was elected to the senate. The local papers of Augusta nominated Ruel

Williams to succeed him. Mr. Evans was nominated by some of his friends, and a newspaper was started in Gardiner which vigorously asserted his claims. The election took place at short notice, at the annual town meeting in March, when travelling was bad; the vote was small, and resulted in no choice. A new trial was appointed to take place in July, and a most energetic and exciting canvass between the friends of Mr. Williams and Mr. Evans, took place. In Augusta seven hundred and eleven votes were thrown; of these seven hundred were for Mr. Williams. Such was the interest felt in Gardiner, that a man ill in bed was brought a distance of several miles on a mattress to the polls. Six hundred and two votes were cast, of which Mr. Evans received five hundred and ninety-seven. Mr. Evans was elected by two hundred majority. Both candidates had been voted for by their friends as whigs; but after his defeat Mr. Williams came out openly, and joined the democratic party. Seven times successively Mr. Evans was elected to congress, but after serving twelve years, and before entering on his next term, he was elected to the senate, where he remained for six years, having served in congress for eighteen years consecutively.

During the whole of his twelve years' service in the house, coincident with the presidency of Jackson and Van Buren, the whig party was in the minority, consequently he was not, as has been stated, chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means; but as second on the committee, he often wielded more power than the chairman, backed by his large party majority. This was strikingly exemplified at the close of the session of that congress which preceded the incoming of President Harrison. The writer of this happened to be in Washington at the time of the inauguration of General Harrison, and will never forget the scene he witnessed in the house of representatives on the last day and night of the session of the out-going congress. At such a time the amount of business trans-

acted is immense. Where the democratic majority was so large, it was astonishing to witness the power and tact with which Mr. Evans, though a whig, directed and controlled the house. Every measure advocated by him was passed, and every one opposed by him was defeated.

During his long service in the house, his power and influence had constantly been increasing, and his great speeches upon the protective system in 1832, upon the removal of the deposits and a national bank in 1834, upon the failure of the bill for fortifications in 1836, on appropriations for the naval service in the same year, on the north-eastern boundary in 1838, and upon the bill to authorize the issue of treasury notes in January, 1841, were among those which established his position as a statesman and leader throughout the country.

The great orator of a past generation in Massachusetts, Harrison Gray Otis, wrote to Mr. Evans, January 2d, 1834, in these words: "I venture to present to you my respectful "congratulations upon your most triumphant, gentlemanly "and caustic reply to your colleague upon Governor "Lincoln's resolution. I think I never read a more conclusive and felicitous impromptu reply in any debate. I "should think any eel would have coiled under that "skinning, unless, as the Poissarde at Billingsgate said, "'they don't mind it when they're used to it.'"

It may not be amiss to insert here an extract from one of his speeches in the house. It was "In Relation to the "Failure of the Bill making Appropriations for Fortifications," delivered in January, 1836.

Ex-president John Quincy Adams was a member of the house, and, to the amazement of his friends, had made a most violent and bitter attack upon Mr. Webster, a member of the senate. It seemed necessary that some member of the house should answer it, and Mr. Evans, though long on intimate and friendly terms with Mr.

Adams, felt called upon to defend Mr. Webster against such unjustifiable aspersions.

“The honorable member, with a precision of aim which leaves nothing of doubt as to whom his shafts were sped, and whom he describes as ‘the Achilles’ of the senate, essays to bring down from his high standing one representing his own commonwealth, with unsurpassed ability, in the other branch of the legislature. The attack was little to have been expected from that quarter. Sir, I shall not attempt encomiums upon that distinguished statesman. It is unnecessary for me,—it cannot be required of any man,—to come forward in his defense. His character, his services, his actions, his opinions, the efforts of his transcendent powers are before the world. They speak out for him in a voice that cannot be silenced. They stand forth in full view, and no man can obscure or blot them from the history of this country. It has been exceedingly painful to me to take a part, and especially the part I have taken, in this debate. Recollections of the past are thronging in my mind, and weigh me down in sadness, almost in silence. Gladly would I have been spared this day. But, sir, when those whom I hold in honor and respect,—whom the country holds high,—high in its estimation, are made the object of attack such as we have witnessed, I should miserably fail in my own sense of duty were I to sit in silence. The day has not long gone by since I saw those who now give sanction to this attack, and the party to which they belong, gladly, ay, anxiously, seeking the aid of the powerful arm of that great champion and defender of the constitution; since I saw this administration, reeling and tottering as it did under the tremendous blows of men of giant strength from the chivalric region of the South, beseeching the unfailing support of that same undaunted hand. I refer to no preceding administrations, which leaned, and leaned

“with confidence upon him, as upon a pillar of immovable strength; but I wish to tell the honorable member from Massachusetts, (Mr. Adams,) that *not one* of the friends who now rally round the object of his attack will falter in his course. *Not one* will be shaken in his confidence and attachment. We shall stand by him, let who will desert, let who will vituperate. But after all, sir, how little is there, upon merely *personal* considerations and preferences, to justify the feelings of anxiety which we cannot repress, for the advancement of any man, however able, —however estimable. We are admonished of the frailty of human attachments and human hopes.

“How wise is it that the future is hid from our view; that we cannot lift the veil which shuts out from our observation the end of our own best and wisest exertions! Much—how much—of our ardor might be abated, how might our arms be paralyzed, if we could look beyond the present hour, and behold the fulfilment which the future holds in store. If, sir, I could raise this impenetrable curtain, and look forward to the future as I can look back on the past, ardently as I desire, for the good of our common country and for his own fame, and much as I would now do to promote the elevation of that distinguished statesman to the highest places of power, every desire might fail, every effort cease. Yes sir, if I should see him descending from that lofty eminence, soured, disappointed, vindictive,—forgetful of his own character, and of the friends who had stood by him in the hour of need, if I should see the infirmities of our nature—the lower and baser passions—mastering and expelling all the noble and generous properties which I know belong to his heart, if I should see him betraying and abandoning the cause which he now upholds, making his friends to hang their heads in very shame and confusion,—I do not say, sir, that I would pray Heaven to blast all our efforts in the cause of our country, but rather would I see his

“sun go down *now*, even from its high noon, so that it leave
“us a glorious light to cheer, and animate, and guide, and
“to which we could turn our eyes with high and heart-
“stirring pride; rather would I see this, than to behold
“him putting off the mighty armor of Achilles, which no
“man can wear, to act *his* perjured part, who by fraud
“levelled the proud walls of Troy to the dust; rather this,
“far rather, than to see him lingering on the stage of
“political action behind his time, ‘the derision of his
“‘enemies,—the melancholy pity of his friends.’”

Upon the inauguration of President Harrison, Mr. Evans took his seat in the senate, and among the great men of those days, Webster, Calhoun, Clay, Crittendon, Silas Wright, Benton and Preston, he assumed and retained a most prominent place. His complete knowledge of financial matters caused him to be placed upon the Committee on Finance, at the head of which he presided during the protracted debate upon the adjustment of the tariff. The duties of this office were extremely arduous, and Mr. Evans fully answered the partial expectations of his friends.

Mr. Clay declined the honor and responsibility of the position as chairman of that important committee, assigning as the reason that Mr. Evans knew more about the tariff than any other public man in the United States. A leading political journal of that day declared “that there
“is probably no man living better acquainted with the
“financial affairs of this country than Mr. Evans.”

Daniel Webster, in his speech on the tariff in 1846, thus alludes to him: “Sir, I have said in my opinion there can
“be no such augmented income relied upon. I will not go
“into this subject at large. It has been satisfactorily, ably,
“I will say admirably presented by gentlemen on this floor
“who have preceded me. I refer particularly to the
“incomparable speech of my friend, a member of the
“senate from the state of Maine. And now Mr. President,

“since my attention has been thus called to that speech, and since the honorable member has reminded us that the period of his service within these walls is about to expire, I take the occasion, even in the senate, and in his own presence, to say that his retirement will be a serious loss to this government and this country. He has been sixteen or eighteen years in the public service. He has devoted himself especially to studying and comprehending the revenue and the finances of the country, and he understands that subject as well as any gentleman connected with the government since the days of Crawford and Gallatin, nay, as well as either of these gentlemen ever understood it. . . . And I can only say, that, retire when he will, he will carry with him the good wishes of every member of this body, the general esteem and regard of the country, and the cordial attachment of his friends, political and personal.”

Among the great measures in which Mr. Evans took an active part, was the system of warehousing, which has proved such a blessing to the commerce of the country. His persistent efforts overcame the powerful opposition to the system in the senate.

Many were the great speeches delivered by him in the senate. We now call to mind particularly the one upon the resolutions of Mr. Clay upon the revenue, and the necessity for increased duties, in 1842, and his answer to Mr. McDuffie on the tariff in 1844. Owing very much to the personal exertions of Mr. Evans, the Ashburton treaty negotiated by Mr. Webster was assented to by the commissioners from Maine, who had drawn up a report refusing her assent, and thus the threatened war with England was averted. He also took an important part in the adjustment of the Oregon difficulties between Great Britain and this country.

In the Harrison canvass of 1840, the democrats, who had been uninterruptedly in power during the double term of

General Jackson and the four years of Van Buren, were overwhelmingly defeated by the whigs, and a clean sweep was made of every office holder in the country. Mr. Evans being the only whig in either house of congress from Maine, had the entire control of every appointment in the state. Where for thousands of applicants for office, only hundreds could be appointed, many enemies must be made, and, at a time of such pressure, it is difficult always to make judicious selections, and no doubt the course pursued by some of his nominees was a lasting injury to Mr. Evans.

At the national convention which nominated General Taylor for the presidency, Mr. Evans was the prominent candidate for the vice-presidency; but finally, Mr. Fillmore received the nomination, and on the death of Taylor succeeded to the presidency. At the inauguration of General Taylor, it was the general wish and expectation of all parties in Maine, and the eyes of a vast majority of the whole people were from the beginning turned to Mr. Evans as the individual in all this land best fitted for the arduous and eminent position of secretary of the treasury.

To this day but few know through what base means the country was deprived of the services of one who would have proved the ablest secretary of the treasury since Albert Gallatin.

One or two malcontents, jealous of his greatness, and chagrined that he had carried the Ashburton treaty in spite of their opposition, drew up a memorial to which, with all their exertions, they could obtain less than thirty signatures, and sent it to Mr. Crittenden, when engaged in forming the cabinet for General Taylor, as the voice of the whig party of Maine, urging that Mr. Evans should have no place in the cabinet. This was done with great secrecy, and the thousands who were expecting the appointment to be made as a matter of course, knew nothing of it, and the

great state of Pennsylvania pressing her claims, a citizen of that state was appointed.

After retiring from congress, Mr. Evans devoted himself to his profession, and to the construction of the Kennebec Railroad, of which he was the first president, and to his unwearied and judicious exertions, the accomplishment of this enterprise, surrounded by so many difficulties, is chiefly owing.

Of Mr. Evans' power and eloquence at the bar, as I have already said, I forbear from speaking, but I have the great satisfaction of presenting to you a brief paper prepared for this occasion by one long familiar with his power as a lawyer, and who is now one of the leaders of the bar in Boston.

"So large a part of Mr. Evans' professional life was
"devoted necessarily to the discharge of public duties, that
"it was impossible for him to indulge his taste for the
"study of the law to the extent he would have done under
"circumstances more propitious. Yet he was a great
"lawyer, as his friend Mr. Webster was a great lawyer.
"He always had law enough for his case. He was endowed
"with a marvellous quickness of perception, and he had the
"power of applying his mind to the matter in hand, to the
"utter exclusion of all others, which perhaps more than
"any other faculty marks the great man or great advocate.
"He saw at a glance the point upon which his case was to
"turn, and to this point he directed all his energies. He
"never mistook an enemy's outpost for his citadel. In
"clearness of statement, in compactness of argument, and
"in copiousness of illustration, he had few equals. How-
"ever complicated or important the cause in which he was
"engaged, no one who listened to him was ever heard to
"suggest that his effort was not equal to the occasion, or
"that he had failed to present a single consideration which
"might have rendered his success more certain. In the

“trial of jury causes, his tact, knowledge of men, sound judgment and practical common sense were conspicuous. He resorted to no tricks. He was careful not to prejudice his client’s cause by badgering or browbeating his adversary’s witnesses. He conducted throughout as if he felt he was there to secure the interests of his client, not to amuse the crowd; and bound to do his utmost to accomplish this object *consistent with honor and honesty*, and equally bound not to transcend this limit. When he addressed the jury he made his appeal to their reason, never to their passions or prejudices. He seldom indulged in rhetorical display, and when he was eloquent, (in the popular sense,) it was because he could not help it. Few advocates have possessed in an equal degree the power of reconciling evidence apparently conflicting, or of educing order out of chaotic complications.

“In the trial of Dr. Coolidge on a charge of murder, he was of counsel for the accused. It was a case fitted to call forth all his powers. The defendant was a young physician of much promise. His reputation had been without taint of suspicion. He had many warm and devoted friends. The prosecuting officers deemed the evidence of his guilt overwhelming. The trial occupied nine days. When the evidence was in, Mr. Evans addressed the jury for seven hours. With such consummate skill did he deal with the vast mass of criminating evidence, that those who had seen no chance for the escape of his client began to feel that facts were no match for the great advocate, and to fear that a terrible crime would go unpunished. He closed with a burst of eloquence, clearly unpremeditated, which those who heard it will never forget. In the language of an English judge, ‘they were lost in admiration of the strength and stretch of the human understanding.’”

Fortunately this great trial was reported and published

in the *Kennebec Journal*, and it may be well to insert here the close of Mr. Evans' address to the jury alluded to above.

"Gentlemen, I am reluctant to leave this case. I tremble when I think how imperfectly I have discharged my duty. I tremble in apprehension lest from any neglect or defect of mine, this case has not been presented to you aright, and yet I know not that I could do more. I have aimed at no rhetorical display. Always incapable of it, this is the last place, the very last, in which I would attempt it. I have aimed to address your understandings,—to speak to your minds, your hearts, your consciences. With you now rests the responsibility,—mine is ended. Mine has been great enough, more is yours. I have made no appeal to your sympathies, or your compassion. I invoke no compassion beyond that of the laws; merciful and humane are they,—no sympathy other than to implore you to recollect, while sitting in judgment upon the life of the prisoner, that he is a frail, erring man,—to be judged by men as frail.

"We are assembled in no ordinary place of justice. We are standing in a temple dedicated to the service of the most high God, where prayer is wont to be made, and blessings invoked, where forgiveness and charity are entreated, as we mete them out to others, where all the teachings suited to our condition are constantly administered. I invoke the solemnity of the place and the occasion, to impress you with the unspeakable importance of so considering and deciding, that the judgment you are to pronounce, shall be that of justice and truth, mingled with mercy and compassion. When your verdict shall have been rendered, this vast assemblage will separate, to meet no more—no more on earth. But once—once more, all will assemble, not to judge, but to be judged—to be judged for the deeds done this day. For, 'I saw,' said the exile at Patmos—'I saw the dead, both

“ ‘small and great, stand before God ; and the books were
“ ‘opened, and the dead, both small and great, were judged
“ ‘out of the things written in the books.’ God grant that
“ on that occasion the blood of no man be found upon your
“ hands ! ”

In an off-hand speech, where tact and eloquence are essential, probably few men have lived who surpassed Mr. Evans. As the editor of the Bangor Democrat well said, “ Unlike Webster or Clay, whose equal he was in native and acquired greatness, he was wholly unambitious of fame. He was great in spite of himself. If he spoke, whether at the bar, in the senate, or in the popular forum, it was only to effect a present object. He would never prepare or revise a speech for the press, and would not look at the proof sheets of the reporter. On the occasion of a great public meeting we requested in advance the manuscript of the speech he was to deliver. He laughed heartily at this request, stating that he had never in his life written out a word of any political speech he had ever made.”

I cannot forbear alluding to two occasions when the peculiar qualifications of Mr. Evans as an orator, alluded to above, were prominently exemplified, as some of those I now address can testify.

One of these was upon the occasion of the visit of President Polk to Maine. As the president, after visiting Portland and Augusta, was about embarking on board the steamer at Gardiner, Mr. Evans made a most touching and eloquent address to Mr. Polk as the president, alluding to the fact that although during their congressional career they had always been politically opposed, yet they had ever maintained a mutual respect for each other, and as the president, he extended to him a cordial welcome from Kennebec and Maine. Mr. Polk so highly appreciated the address, that he afterwards observed that in all his tour through, not only this state, but the whole country, he had

never received so touching and generous an address as this.

The other occasion referred to was the address of welcome to Daniel Webster. While Mr. Evans was engaged in the United States court at Wiscasset, he sent a despatch to Gardiner, saying that Mr. Webster was attending the court, and that Kennebec ought to welcome him. At very short notice a magnificent dinner was prepared at the Hallowell House, then just opened and carried on by Kilburn Robinson, in the style of the Tremont and Revere Houses. Prominent persons from Augusta, Hallowell, Gardiner and Portland, were present to do honor to Mr. Webster. The time of this dinner was at the moment of his greatest glory,—not long after his great and memorable contest in the senate with Hayne of South Carolina, upon the constitution. When the cloth was removed, a crowd was collected in expectation of a speech from the great expounder. Mr. Evans, who presided at the table, rose to express a hearty welcome from Kennebec to the distinguished guest. Most unfortunately no report of this speech has ever been published; for such an outpouring of eloquence for at least an hour, has seldom been heard, and those who were privileged to listen to it can never forget it. In the course of his speech he quoted whole passages from Scott's *Ivanhoe*, (volume ii., chapter 6,) where Rebecca at the window describes to the wounded *Ivanhoe* the operations of the besiegers of the castle, and as she relates the exploits of the black knight, (Richard Cœur de Lion,) wielding the massive battle axe, *Ivanhoe* exclaims, "Methought there was but one man in England that might 'do such a deed.'" Applying this in a masterly manner to Webster's blows against the enemies of the constitution, and carrying on the simile, every moment rising in eloquence, he utters *Ivanhoe's* exclamation, "I would endure 'ten years captivity to fight one day by that good knight's 'side, in such a quarrel as this.'"

At the conclusion of this most eloquent address, Mr. Webster rose, and evinced by his manner how much he had been affected by it.

He commenced, addressing Mr. Evans, by saying to him that he had anticipated him in much that he wished to have said. He spoke for some time, but although everything uttered by Mr. Webster always commanded the closest attention, yet, following as it did the remarkable address of Mr. Evans, many of his hearers were disappointed.

We have spoken of Mr. Evans in his public life, and we have time now merely to refer to his noble qualities as an individual and a citizen, and must close this most imperfect sketch, by simply adding that all his fellow townsmen who remember him must bear witness that he was ever ready with his purse and his influence to promote every undertaking for the advancement of the interests of his town and state; and whatever duty was required of him, he cordially accepted its labors and responsibility. He was always courteous, and as a friend was ever true, faithful and generous.

NOTICE OF
HON. WILLIAM WILLIS.

BY PROF. A. S. PACKARD, D. D.,
OF BRUNSWICK.

WILLIAM WILLIS* was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, August 31, 1794, the second child of Benjamin and Mary (McKinstry) Willis. His paternal ancestors were among the early English settlers of Massachusetts; his maternal were Scotch-Irish. John McKinstry, (Edinburgh University, 1712,) his great-grandfather, a clergyman, the first of the name who came to this country, arrived August 4, 1718, and settled near Worcester, Massachusetts. His grandfather, son of the preceding, became a physician in Taunton, Massachusetts, and was appointed surgeon-general of hospitals in Boston, by General Gage. Dr.

* In preparing the following notice of the late Honorable William Willis, the writer has used freely the "Tribute" to his memory before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, March 3, 1870, by Charles Henry Hart, Esq., historiographer of the society, an article prepared for the annual necrology of Harvard College, of which Mr. Willis was an alumnus, and the diary of Mr. Willis himself, of the last twenty-six years of his life. The writer, it may be added, was associated with Mr. Willis for more than forty years in the Maine Historical Society, and most of that period in the official relations of the society.

McKinstry died March 21, 1776, aged 43, on board the "Dutton" hospital ship in Boston harbor, whither he had gone with his household on the evacuation of the town by the British. Mr. Willis' family moved to Portland in 1803. He was fitted for college at Phillips Exeter Academy, entered Harvard College a sophomore, 1810, and graduated 1813, taking a part in a conference with three others. After graduation he was entered as student-at-law in the office of the Honorable Prentiss Mellen, (Harvard College, 1784,) in Portland, whose reputation as a counsellor and advocate, and subsequently as the first chief justice of the supreme judicial court of Maine, is a familiar tradition. At the close of the war of 1812, the family removed to Boston, and he entered the office of Judge Peter Oxenbridge Thacher, (Harvard College, 1796.) In 1815 he went abroad with the prospect of a commercial life in connection with United States Consul Jarvis, in Lisbon, Portugal; but relinquishing that project, he returned, completed his legal studies, was admitted to the Suffolk bar, 1817, and opened an office in Boston. In 1818 he visited the West Indies, and spent a few months on the islands Martinique and Guadaloupe. His letters during these absences gave indications of the power of close observation and facility as a writer, which were to be of so much value to him and to the public. When Mr. Mellen was chosen to the United States senate from Massachusetts, having observed his valuable qualifications, he extended to young Willis the highly complimentary invitation to become a partner in the extensive and lucrative business of his office. In 1820, when Maine became a separate state, and Mr. Mellen was appointed chief justice of the supreme court, the connection was dissolved, and Mr. Willis continued the practice of his profession by himself until 1835, when he formed a copartnership with the late distinguished Honorable William Pitt Fessenden, (Bowdoin College, 1823,) which lasted twenty years. In 1854 his son Henry, (Bowdoin

College, 1851,) was associated with him in the office. After the death of this son in 1868, he conducted the business of the office alone.

Mr. Willis was a well-read, able lawyer, and by sterling integrity, purity and elevation of character, and by his habits of exactness and accuracy as a counsel and a conveyancer, sustained a high reputation. His fine manners and gentle courtesy, combined with great sensibility and kindness of heart, gave grace to the profession and won the high esteem of his associates. Soon after his return to Portland as his residence, he became assistant editor of one of the newspapers of the town, a position which he held three or four years, and in the discharge of that office gave an earnest of qualities as a close observer of passing events and a felicitous and able writer, which distinguished him so much in subsequent years.

September 1, 1823, Mr. Willis married Julia, daughter of the late Honorable Ezekiel Whitman, (Brown University, 1795,) chief justice of the court of common pleas, and afterwards holding the same position in the supreme court of Maine. Nine children were the issue of this marriage. The parents survived them all, the mother dying April 2, 1872.

Notwithstanding Mr. Willis might be regarded, to nearly the last of his life, a busy lawyer, his genuine passion for historical and statistical research, and for the knowledge of men, and his singular habits of observation, with his industrious pen of which the ink never seemed to become dry, lured him into paths which the jealous genius of the law is commonly thought to forbid her votaries.

His private diary, begun October, 1844, and continued with scarce an interruption of its daily entry, to within four days of his decease, reveals in an interesting and agreeable way his habits in the particulars already referred to. It appears from this record that he was accustomed to keep

a journal at least as early as 1815, but the four folios, embracing twenty-six years, are all that survive him. Evidently designed for no eye but his own, it makes known the man, his outer, and in many points his inner life, his vigilant observation of passing events, his social habits and associations, his generous sympathy for friends and acquaintances, his public spirit, which 'cherished a lively interest in whatever affected the welfare of the city, or the state, or the country, or indeed the world. We gather from it that no movement was made in the interests of education, or of any public improvement, social or moral, in the religious society with which he was connected, in the Portland Academy, in the athenæum or public library, the society of natural history, or the lyceum, in which he was not ready to participate. When the project of a railroad was set on foot, his diary shows that he was an active coöperator, and gave to it the service of several years. His feeble voice did not allow him to act a prominent part as a public speaker in large assemblies, but he was prompt and efficient in committees, or on boards of directors, or as a trustee, and often as chairman or president. No event of importance happened at home or abroad which the record of the day fails to notice; nor the death of a neighbor, nor of any one, whether of the city or elsewhere, who by age or position, or any circumstance, attracted his attention. Lecturers at the lyceum, speakers at political or religious conventions, the sermons he heard, even to the texts and the outlines of discourse, are recorded. Incidents of importance during the war of rebellion, whether of the field or the cabinet, and changing aspects of the political state of the country, received a brief and pertinent notice. The peculiarities of the seasons, and the range of the thermometer during those twenty-six years, may be ascertained with considerable accuracy from that diary. The fact is recorded that he was once summoned as a witness in court to testify to the state of the weather at a

certain date of a year or two before, from the entry in this diary. When the death of a public man is noted, there is often added a brief statement of his age, place of birth, his parentage, and the leading events of his life. He took frequent, sometimes distant journeys. The diary contains a brief journal of travel, with statistical, topographical and geographical notes of towns and cities he visited, and of people whom he met. That daily record also shows how quick his eye was to catch the beauties of the world without. A rich landscape, the storm and the sunshine, and the radiance of the moon on the beautiful expanse of the harbor, the bursting bud, the blooming flowers, the verdure of trees and fields, the promise of the summer, the condition of his vinery or his garden, the ripening of his grapes and plums and pears, and the ingathering of the harvest, are all recompensed for the delight they gave him by the faithful record when the day was done. We learn from the same source what books he read and the impression they made. This diary, it must be added, leads one who knew him well to wish he had known him more, and to regret that opportunities to cultivate so valuable an acquaintance had not been more faithfully improved.

Such habits of observation and of recording impressions of what he saw and heard and read, contributed essentially to prepare Mr. Willis for a work often consoling to friends, always valuable to the public. He was in a remarkable degree the historiographer of Portland, and indeed of the state. Of later years scarcely an individual of any note, and, it may be said, of either sex, often, too, one little known beyond the neighborhood has passed away, but an obituary notice has appeared, not unfrequently in the next issue of the press, singularly full and exact, of the parentage and life of the deceased. It was said of him by a former pastor, "that family trees stood in his ready memory from which to take, as opportunity offered, that which should instruct his fellow men." As illustrating his propensity

to ascertain facts respecting those with whom he was associated, a gentleman of high standing, who was a member of the legislature when Mr. Willis was in the senate and was a fellow-boarder, told the writer that Mr. Willis used to inquire of him the age, place of birth, and other particulars respecting members of the legislative bodies, and even requested him to obtain for him the information he sought, stating that it was his custom to ascertain such facts and make a record of them, and this gentleman thought that hardly two weeks of the session had passed before Mr. Willis had thus informed himself respecting every member of both houses, and of the governor's council. It needs not to be said of such a man, and yet it is pleasant to testify regarding the diary so often referred to, that it records nothing betraying a suspicious or unfriendly spirit, or that can be accounted as gossip.

Mr. Willis was a constant contributor, to his last day, to the daily press, as well as to periodical journals of a historical character. Obituary notices, as has already been stated, articles designed to promote projects of public utility, as that of a railroad, or a society for the relief of the poor, or a public dispensary, or on the passing season as contrasted or compared with seasons of past years, even of the preceding century, which he gathered from his own journal or those of the Rev. Thomas Smith and Dr. Deane, or notices of publications to which he wished to invite attention, or historical reminiscences of some old mansion which had been taken down to make way for the convenience or improvement of the growing city, were constantly appearing.

Much might be learned of the topography, if it may be so called, of Portland in its early period, from the newspaper articles, "Journey from Montjoy to Bramhall." The disastrous conflagration of July 4, 1866, furnished a subject for several articles, one of them, entitled "A Walk Among "the Ruins," of peculiar interest, and highly valuable as a

record of the devastation, and for the comparison which none but he could have drawn of that calamity with the historic event of 1775, when the town was bombarded and burnt by Mowatt and the British fleet. So also the visit of the English squadron, October, 1860, to the harbor of Portland to receive the Prince of Wales for his home voyage after his tour through Canada and the United States, gave him the opportunity to contrast in a very agreeable manner, in a newspaper article, the visits of the British fleets of 1775 and 1860. Volumes of such contributions from his pen might be collected. In fact he had preserved a large portion of them for his own purpose, in scrap books bearing the inscription, "Newspaper Articles "from 1825," &c.

So constantly was the public interested and instructed by communications with his well-known signature, that the readiness and copiousness of his resources became a perpetual surprise. One secret of this fertility is revealed by the public library of the city of Portland, to which Mr. Willis bequeathed a large portion of his library and his manuscript. There may be seen in that depository of his treasures a folio volume of genealogical and biographical sketches and memoranda, containing the material, always at hand, of such notices of individuals as so often surprised by their prompt appearance and their fulness of detail. It is scarcely an exaggeration to affirm that no individual of prominence in the state, it might perhaps be added, of neighboring states, would have deceased within the last years, of whom those papers would not furnish a more full record of parentage and life than is usually given in the notices of the press. And so of his communications on historical and local topics. These bound volumes of his papers reveal the methods which ensured the remarkable breadth, minute accuracy of knowledge, and the faithful memory shown in them, being filled with extracts from old records pertaining to the history of Portland, and ancient

Falmouth, depositions relating to original settlers, historical notes and abstracts, land titles and grants, plans and deeds; in fine, entries concerning matters which he judged might come of use in historical, political, ecclesiastical or social discussions.

With all his diligence, Mr. Willis could not have accomplished half his amount of important and valuable work, outside of a laborious and exacting profession, had he not, at an early period, formed habits of method and system; and in this respect his diary and these volumes of manuscript afford an important lesson for young men. It requires patience, resolution, and the constant pressure of a law of one's life, to make, for example, extracts from books of eastern land claims, write notes and abstracts of matters of no immediate value, to explore mouldy and scarcely legible records, to decipher, as he did, and copy "inscriptions on gravestones and monuments of the "eastern cemetery." Few have the patient industry for such drudgery. But with a remote, though uncertain end in view, he went through all this toil, year after year, never wearied of such painstaking, and the public have reason to cherish his memory for his untiring fidelity to a laudable purpose. His care and system appear also from the fact that his correspondence, which was so extensive, while, for example, his *Law and Lawyers of Maine*, or his *Genealogy of the McKinstry Family* was in hand, is bound in one or more volumes.

Of the more considerable communications made by Mr. Willis to our periodical historical literature, may be mentioned: A Bibliography of the State of Maine in Norton's *Literary Letter*, No. 4, 1859; a similar one published after his death, on the writers, native and resident, of Maine, *Historical Magazine*, March, 1870; A Summary of Voyages to the North Atlantic Coast of this Continent in the Sixteenth Century, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April, 1869; also for the same, an *Essay on the Early*

Collections of Voyages to America; A Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Maine Historical Society, Historical Magazine, January, 1868; for the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, a paper on the Early Settlers of New Hampshire, and also a notice of Folsom's Catalogue of Original Documents in the English Archives, relating to the Early History of Maine; an article on Titles Conferred on Americans, Historical Magazine, January, 1866; and two others, one, The Descent of Honorable Isaac Royall, the other on Long Pastorates, with the case of the first parish, Portland; A Genealogy of the McKinstry Family, Historical and Genealogical Register, 1859-60, of which a second edition, more full and complete, was printed in 1866.

For the Law Reporter he furnished reports of cases and decisions in the supreme judicial court of Maine, and in November, 1848, a paper on judicial changes in Maine.

Mr. Willis edited all the seven volumes of the Maine Historical Collections, and all but one have one or more valuable contributions from his industrious pen. Without more particular reference to these articles, many of them of great importance, we pass on to his more extended and fruitful labors, which afford evidence of his extensive and critical researches into the early history of Maine; his republication of the Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Smith and Deane, with copious notes, biographical sketches, and an introduction, 1849; a new edition of his History of Portland, the first part of the first edition having formed a considerable portion of volume first, Maine Historical Collections, 1831. This new edition was published 1865, in one octavo volume, 928 pages, and is one of the best town or city histories published in the country. In 1863, appeared History of the Law, the Courts and Lawyers of Maine, one octavo volume, 712 pages. His diary shows somewhat of the painstaking and labor bestowed upon this work, which, for its great amount of material, its historic

value, and the admirable judgment and taste in the execution of it, is in the highest degree honorable to the author and to the state. The first volume of the Maine Historical Society Collections having become exhausted, a new edition was issued, 1865, under his supervision, enlarged by more than one hundred pages of valuable material, especially connected with the first part of his history of Portland, throwing light on obscure passages in the early history of the coast of Maine, and affording additional proof of his sagacious, patient and thorough research.

The statements already made afford abundant evidence that Mr. Willis possessed a generous and high toned public spirit. His journal records, as has been said, the interest he took in whatever promoted the welfare of his fellow men; that he was ready to coöperate in any well considered scheme of good, from the "charity fund" of the congregation to which he belonged, or "the Benevolent Society of Portland," or the "Association for Relief of Aged, "Indigent Women," or the "Widow's Wood Society," to the organizations formed to embrace in their charities the whole land. He was a model parishioner, in whom his pastor found a steadfast, discreet, judicious and generous friend. No charge or suspicion of a lack of the highest honor and purest integrity was ever attached to his name. As a citizen he was loyal to his heart's core. He was eminently a domestic man, and his love for home and kindred knew no bounds. He was also a social man; his home, one of liberal and courteous hospitality, and when he died the most cultivated circles of his city must have felt that a great vacuum had been made in their social life, and that they had suffered an irreparable loss.

It is an interesting feature of his private record, which has been already referred to, that he seldom fails to notice in the Sabbath entry the religious services of the day, the sermons he had heard, the texts preached from, and often

accompanied with outlines of discourse, occasionally a brief comment. So also of works which he read, touching on points of christian faith. He was for many years a most valuable church member, and decidedly reverential and conservative in his views and sympathies, always shrinking from whatever savored of a departure from his high standard of what the sermon and the preacher should be. The diary has the following entry: "Attended a meeting of the Free Religionists, and free and loose enough it was. Many of the speakers freed themselves from all religion except the vagaries of their own minds, and certainly cut loose from christianity and the authority of the bible." He characterizes the discussion as "a course of negations of all the christianity of the past." His reflections when he made note of his own birthday, or the anniversary of his marriage, or the sickness and death of a child or friend, his meditations when he came of seventy, all show that he had an abiding sense of religion, of responsibility, and a life to come. "With the last day," he writes, "of February, 1865, I have reached the close of the third volume of my journal which was commenced October, 1844. The many changes which twenty years have made, is startling when their aggregate force is contemplated. I have lost in that period my mother, my father, two brothers, a sister, and several children and grandchildren. At the age of seventy what can a man expect but to look back upon his path strewn with the wrecks of affections and friendships which he is too old to repair, and forward to privations, infirmities, and earthly desolations which cannot be repaired, and only compensated by the hopes of a future being, where the temporal and evanescent is changed into the permanent, ever during and ever blessed." And again, under date of August 31, 1868: "I enter to-day upon my seventy-fifth year. I cannot realize that I have advanced so far on the journey of life, and am admonished to use the time

"that remains for spiritual improvement and preparation
"for the end."

Such a man would not be allowed to live without tokens of regard, confidence and respect from his fellow men. For many years he filled offices involving responsibility and influence in his city, as bank director, president or chairman of different associations, mayor of the city; and in the state, a director of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad, and president of the board; railroad commissioner, member of the state senate; was urged to allow himself to be put in nomination for governor of Maine, but declined; was an elector for president of the United States in 1860, and president of the electoral college.

His various and incessant historical labors attracted the notice of the leading historical societies of the country, and he was successively elected corresponding or honorary member of the historical societies of Massachusetts, of Pennsylvania, and of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, of the historical societies of Georgia, New Hampshire, Vermont, Buffalo, Wisconsin, Florida, Long Island, of the American Antiquarian Society, and of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society. Of the latter society, he was vice-president from 1855 to 1859. In 1867 he received from Bowdoin College the honorary degree of doctor of laws. The city of Portland, for whose welfare he ever manifested the liveliest interest, will have a constant reminder of his earnest zeal in her behalf by the "Institute and Public Library," of which he was the principal originator, and became its largest patron by his bequest of his library, manuscripts, scrap books and autograph documents.

Though for several years in feeble health, he did not falter in what had been the pastime, as well as the work, of his life. His pen did not rest until almost, literally, it fell from his hand. On the Monday, as is stated by one intimately conversant with him, previous to his death, he

laid aside the historical papers which he was editing, to complete a biographical sketch of the youngest of a venerable family, who had just died, aged ninety-six years. The article appeared in the newspaper of the next day, with the announcement: "My declining health and "strength admonish me that I must write no more." On Tuesday, however, he resumed labor upon his historical article; but at 4 P. M., pen in hand, he became unconscious and lay in a swoon until 3 A. M. of Wednesday. A couch had been brought to his library; upon it he reclined without distress until 9 A. M., Thursday, February 17, 1870, when he gently expired.

Fitting notices of the event were taken by the city of which Mr. Willis was a prominent and distinguished citizen, by the Cumberland bar, and by other bodies of which he had been an associate. That which is entered on the records of the Maine Historical Society is here annexed.

"The members of the Maine Historical Society, in their "deep sense of the loss sustained by the society in the "decease of the late Honorable William Willis, LL. D., an "active member almost from its beginning, and for several "years its honored president, and feeling it to be due to "his memory, and just to themselves, to place on record "some fitting notice of this mournful event, therefore "resolve:

"That they cherish a grateful remembrance of his long, "active and most valuable service in the interests of the "society, by his important contributions to its memoirs, his "careful, discriminating, exact, and able superintendence "of the first seven volumes of its collections, by his wise "counsel and efficient coöperation, throughout, in further- "ance of its objects, and by the reputation which his "learned labors have given to the society;

"That we deem it cause of grateful acknowledgement to "the Author of all good, that the society and the state

“have, through so long a series of years, been favored by
“his earnest and indefatigable spirit of inquiry into the
“sources of our history, and by proofs of his diligence,
“skill and success in developing and recording, greatly for
“the common good, the results of his varied studies
“regarding the general history and bibliography of the
“state, the lives of prominent citizens and professional
“men, and especially the history of his own town and city,
“so full of details of interest and importance, manifold
“labors continued almost to the day of his death;

“That, by such an eminent example of patient con-
“tinuance in an important work, we are encouraged to
“renew our diligence in promoting, each in his measure,
“the valuable objects and pursuits to which our honored
“friend devoted, so generously, his time and labor.”

NOTICE OF
CYRUS EATON, ESQ.

BY REV. DAVID Q. CUSHMAN,

OF BATH.

— 1875. —

ANOTHER of our distinguished citizens, Cyrus Eaton, Esq., has just departed this life. He was born in Framingham, Massachusetts, February 11, 1784, and died in Warren, Maine, January 21, 1875, aged ninety years, eleven months, and ten days. He was the sixth child and second son of Benjamin and Mary (Stacy) Eaton, who were the parents of ten children, three sons and seven daughters, all of whom passed away before the subject of this memoir.

His father, who was a shoemaker by trade, and a soldier in the war of the revolution, left his last and his bench and leaped to arms when the bugle first sounded at the battle of Lexington. When Cyrus was sixteen years of age, his father died; but his mother, a woman of distinguished piety and worth, lived to the advanced age of ninety-five years and six months. In the latter part of her life she lived with her son David, a man of more than ordinary ability and prominence in Portland, Chautauque County, New York, and died October 14, 1848. David, the eldest son, died in Portland, the place of his residence, in 1873.

The Eatons were of English descent, and have proved a valuable acquisition to the land of their choice. And Cyrus Eaton, the subject of this memoir, passed the period of his youth in the vicinity of where he was born. At the death of his father, a large family was left in poverty, in consequence of the war, and the depreciation of continental currency. But he and his elder brother entered upon the trade of their father. Their love of learning, however, was so strong that a book would be laid by the lapstone, and its contents perused as the awl was applied to the shoe. Says Mr. Sibley:* "Their love of learning was so strong "that they hired books of history and travels, which the "younger brother was permitted to read aloud to the elder, "who, as the best and fastest workman, was turning out "the boots and shoes" during "the long winter evenings. "Both of them soon acquired about all that could be "learned in the district schools, and the younger, who "preferred hiring out on a farm during the warm season, "was once allowed a few weeks between summer and "winter, having committed to memory the Latin grammar, "to study Latin at the academy, carrying his dinner and "travelling three miles morning and evening."

Mr. Eaton never had the advantage of the college; he only in his youth enjoyed the benefit of the town school and a single term at the academy. His widowed mother, who, after her husband's death, removed from Framingham to Southborough, not being able to afford both her sons the privilege of the academy, decided that one should attend and teach the other at night what he had acquired during the day; and Cyrus being the younger of the two, his services at the bench were deemed the least valuable of the two, and he was the one who was selected to attend.

"The next summer he was employed on a farm for six "months, at eight dollars per month. After his time was

* Massachusetts Historical Society.

"completed, his employer wished him to work one month "longer," for which he received ten dollars, "and his "mother told him he might devote this month's wages to "the purchase of books."* His hopes were ardent, his mind was interested, his purpose was fixed, his labors seemed light; and at the end of that time, with a lunch in his pocket and money in his purse, he started, and with quickened step travelled to Worcester, a distance of twenty miles, entered a bookstore, purchased Pike's large arithmetic, an algebra, the first he ever saw, and other mathematical books and instruments, and returned home on foot the same day, having travelled, in going and returning, the distance of forty miles. These books he studied and mastered without the assistance of any teacher. In addition to these he made himself familiar with Love's surveying, with an industry and determination to reach the bottom of every subject with which his mind so earnestly grappled.

"The next season he worked at brick-making on the "banks of the river Charles, in Watertown, for nine dollars "a month, where, though the work was hard," commencing early in the morning and ending only at sundown, "his "fancy, he said, was struck with the pleasant river, its daily "tide and frequent lighters, the city-like appearance of the "street leading across the bridge, a distant view of the "cupola of the state house at Boston, and the solemn sound "of the far off bells that were wafted to his unaccustomed "ears upon the stillness of a Sabbath morning. With the "Fables of Florian, and one or two other books found at "his boarding house, and an occasional solitary stroll "among the majestic trees of some neighboring forest, made "Sunday a truly refreshing feast to his soul, as well as rest "to his body. Not, he said, that the service of the church "was neglected, but that the apparent display of wealth and

* Rockland Gazette, January 28, 1875.

"fashion did not, at that time of his life, well chime in with his melancholy moods and feelings. Towards fall, as the days began to grow shorter, he found an hour or two of evening leisure, which, instead of gossiping with his fellow boarders, he spent in reading by the light of some tallow candles he purchased, a history of England which he had the good fortune to come across, so dilapidated that he never learned the author's name, but so interesting, particularly in relation to the early Britons and Druid priests, as to detain him long into the night.

"The following winter, boarding with his mother's family at Southborough, he began there, at the age of nineteen, his career as a schoolmaster, by teaching a large and difficult school in the centre of the town, with such success, that, before the next annual town meeting was adjourned, he was applied to for the next winter by two of the newly elected agents."*

The next summer, in 1804, he took passage in a down east coaster, and was landed at Owl's Head, and thence came to Warren, where he spent a portion of the season in teaching. Thence he returned to Massachusetts "with the means to purchase more books, and while laboring through the summer, found time to study them with such diligence, that in the fall he was able to calculate an eclipse."†

In the autumn of 1805, when twenty-one years of age, he came the second time to Warren, where he established himself, and spent the remainder of his days. His residence was a two-story house about one mile from Warren village, on the way to Thomaston, on a gentle and beautiful elevation of land, familiarly known by the name of *Cornhill*. He was the owner of a small farm, divided into gardening, orcharding, tillage and mowing, pasture and woodland. On

* Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, 1873-1875.

† Rockland Gazette.

this he spent a considerable portion of his time, and found pleasure and profit therein, particularly in the latter part of his life.

On the tenth of December, 1806, he married Miss Mary Lermond of Warren, by whom he became the father of four children; one son, Oscar, and three daughters, Eliza Ann, who died September 25, 1835, Angelina, who was sick at the time of her father's funeral, and who died January 27, 1875, just six days after her father's decease, and Emily, her father's amanuensis and valuable assistant in his literary works through all the years of his blindness, who is still living.

Mrs. Eaton, the wife, died February 19, 1853, and Oscar, the only son, a man of business ability, and entrusted with important civil offices by his fellow citizens, died July 27, 1864, so that only one member, Emily, of the immediate family, survives the subject of this memoir.

Oscar, who married Miss Mary W. Standish, February 18, 1841, (who is now living,) became the father of twelve children, four of whom died in infancy, eight lived to grow up, and six are now living. One son, George Oscar, graduated at West Point, in June, 1873, and is now a lieutenant of a regiment of cavalry, in the territory of Arizona. He was born May 14, 1848, and is a young man of promise and more than ordinary ability.

This gives a brief description of Mr. Eaton's family relations. One child and six grandchildren survive him.

The circumstances of his death are as follows: For some time he had not felt as well as usual; but on the morning of the fifteenth he told his daughters he felt much better, and was going out to engage in his usual exercise, sawing wood. He did so, but had a fall, though it is not known as he was injured thereby. He returned into the house but soon began to fail. Dr. Buxton, when called, could detect no particular disease, but it seemed to be the general breaking up of the powers of nature, and on the twenty-first

he peacefully breathed his last. His funeral services took place January 24, 1875, amidst a large concourse of sympathizing friends and citizens, his daughter Emily being chief mourner, but unable, through infirmity, to go to the grave; and then his remains were interred in the cemetery near his house, there to lie till the trump of the archangel shall awaken the sleeping dead to endless life and action. The forty-sixth psalm, first verse, afforded a subject for thought and remark, on the funeral occasion; "God is our Refuge and Strength; a very present Help in trouble."

Mr. Eaton, all through his long life, was distinguished for his pure morality and correctness of deportment. He was a man of decided convictions,—took not his opinions on trust from any man, but thought for himself, and came to his own independent conclusions,—always meant to be on the side of right,—from the first was an ardent supporter of the cause of abolition, and was a warm friend of the cause of temperance, always voting as he believed, and was a constant attendant upon the worship of the sanctuary on the sabbath. Though what we now call a Unitarian in his theological views and sympathies, and for a short time a member of the Unitarian church at Thomaston, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Fernald, yet his place of worship was at the Congregational church in Warren, about one mile from his own house. He enjoyed the ministry of Rev. Mr. Cutter, and other clergymen who have preached there; and during a period of seven years, while I was pastor of that church, though I preached the gospel as I understood that gospel, seeking to please God rather than men, yet I could always reckon Mr. Eaton as one of my most intelligent and appreciative hearers. In 1845, he lost his eyesight; but after he had become totally blind, at the ringing of the second bell, of a Sabbath morning, he would be seen wending his way to the house of God, led by the hand of one of his little grandsons, and being seated in his pew, would continue a devout listener of what

was said till the close of the service, both forenoon and afternoon. And then he would return home, led by another, as he came in the morning.

It will be seen in what estimation he was held by his fellow citizens, when it is known that he was town clerk from the year 1817 to 1829, was one of the assessors in 1815 and 1816, and again from 1822 to 1829, a representative to the general court of Massachusetts during the years 1811, 1812 and 1815, was four times, November 10, 1816, February 5, 1825, February 3, 1832, and February 5, 1841, appointed a justice of the peace and quorum, and in 1819, was a member of the convention that framed the constitution of Maine, as a separate and independent state.

He was a prime scholar in the various departments of education, and had acquired the happy and useful faculty of knowing how to communicate his knowledge to others; and thus he became a most successful and accomplished educator of youth. His career in this regard began in Massachusetts, where he had wonderful success in managing refractory scholars, and promoting the highest interests of the school; and after he came to Maine he taught in the different districts in town, till the name of "Master Eaton" was as common as that of the parson. This continued till 1830, when he was appointed preceptor of the academy in Warren. In this place he remained from December of that year, to April, 1843; and though he was not a man of "liberal education," as the by-laws required, or college education as the term was understood to mean, yet so intent were they on obtaining his services as preceptor, that the trustees wisely determined, in his case, at least, that the term "liberal" related to *qualifications*, rather than the *manner* in which those qualifications were obtained. And thus he was employed.

And though he had not the advantage of a college education, yet he became an adept in mathematics, in surveying, in Greek and Latin, in French and German, so

that he could teach those languages and branches, and fit young men for college with as much readiness and success, as those whose advantages had been vastly superior to his own.

But the work on which his fame will chiefly rest, and which was commenced and executed after he became sightless, was his "Annals of Warren." While bending a fir sapling with one hand, with the attempt to cut it off with the other, a chip flew in one eye, which badly affected it,—sympathy communicated the difficulty to the other; the disease grew constantly worse,—no physician or remedy could be found in Boston or Maine to afford relief, sight gradually faded away, and total blindness was the result.

Soon after this, however, having been a practical surveyor, and having become familiarly acquainted with the local and historical records of the place, he commenced his book, and the result was the giving to the world in 1851, his history entitled "Annals of Warren." For correctness, appropriateness of topics, and thoroughness, this work has but few equals, if any superiors. His "History of Thomaston, Rockland and South Thomaston," was compiled at a later period of life, under great disadvantages; and though it is a valuable history, yet it can hardly be compared with the "Annals of Warren." He spent a large portion of his life on these two works; and while he saw the two editions soon exhausted by sale, he received tokens of the estimation in which he was held by his fellow men, by being presented, in 1848, with a degree of master of arts by Bowdoin College, and in 1859 he became a member of the Maine Historical Society. He was also a corresponding member of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

However, great credit is due to his invalid daughter, who was with him, and unsparingly assisted him in all his published works. Though unable to cross the room

without assistance, and her hands and limbs rendered almost useless by rheumatic complaints, yet her clear head and active brain remained untouched by the torturing disease, and there was just enough activity in the right hand, and only enough, to wield the pen; and with her intelligent and open eyes, that were closed in the father, she enabled him to accomplish a work, which, but for her, could never have seen the light. This, and the other daughter, who could continue in the domestic employments of the house, and who, in a few days, followed her father across the dark river, accomplished a noble work for their father in his declining years. And the son's family, who lived in another part of the house with him, afforded valuable assistance, both when at home, and when he would go abroad as leaders in the way. They have the reward of honoring the parent, which "is the first commandment with promise."

Mr. Eaton, in a pamphlet entitled "Women; an Address Delivered to the Ladies' Sewing Circle, Warren, Maine, at their Anniversary Meeting, February 9, 1854," showed that he possessed the powers of the true poet. His was an active life, and it leaves its fruit. But he is gone, and we too are going, and in his own words in this poem, we lay down our pen concerning him:

"How to the grave have youth and age gone down!
Peace to their ashes! they have found their rest;
Blest be their memories, and their spirits blest!
We soon may follow; let our hands pursue
With readier zeal whate'er they find to do!
Thus, when their spirits earthward bend their way,
As love and reason intimate they may,
They shall not find occasion for regret,
But every house in ample order set;
Then, mounting upwards on rejoicing wings,
Bear the glad tidings to the King of Kings."

CATALOGUE

OF THE

PAST AND PRESENT MEMBERS,

RESIDENT AND CORRESPONDING,

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BRUNSWICK :

JOSEPH GRIFFIN.

1874.

The Standing Committee of the Maine Historical Society deeming it desirable that a complete list of the past and present membership of the Society should be prepared and printed, the subscribers were appointed for that object. In discharge of that duty they have done what they could, by correspondence and otherwise, to ascertain dates of admission as well as of birth and decease, and place of residence of all whose names appear on the records, and present the following result.

Any one who can supply dates omitted, or correct errors, is requested to furnish the information to the committee.

The names of the original corporators are given in alphabetical order and there-afterwards the names of their associates under the years in which they were respectively admitted.

The list of corresponding members follows, and an alphabetical index of the resident members completes the work.

WM. G. BARROWS,

A. S. PACKARD.

Brunswick, June, 1874.

* indicates decease

† indicates removal from State.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ORIGINAL MEMBERS.

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupat'n</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death.</i>	<i>Age</i>
*Abbott, William	Castine, Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Wilton, N. H.	Nov. 15, 1773	Aug. 25, 1849	76
*Allen, William	Brunswick	<i>Div.</i>	Pittsfield, Ms.	Jan. 2, 1784	July 16, 1868	84
*Ames, Benjamin	Bath	<i>Law.</i>	Andover, Ms.	Oct. 30, 1778	Sept. 28, 1835	57
*Balch, Horatio G.	Lubec	<i>Med.</i>	Danvers, Ms.	1777	Oct. 19, 1849	72
*Bradbury, George	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Portland, Me.	1770	Nov. 17, 1823	53
*Bridge, James	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Dresden, Me.	Sept. 21, 1765	1834	69
*Bond, Thomas	Hallowell	<i>Law.</i>	Groton, Mass.	Apr. 2, 1778	Mar. 28, 1827	49
*Cogswell, Jonathan	Saco	<i>Div.</i>	"	Sept. 3, 1782	Aug. 1, 1864	82
*Cony, Daniel	Augusta	<i>Med.</i>	Sharon, Ms.	Aug. 3, 1752	Jan. 21, 1842	90
*Dana, Judah	Fryeburg	<i>Law.</i>	Pomfret, Vt.	Apr. 25, 1772	Dec. 27, 1845	73
*Dane, Joseph	Kennebunk	<i>Law.</i>	Beverly, Ma.	Oct. 25 1778	May 1, 1858	79
*Gardiner, R. H.	Gardiner	<i>Gent.</i>	Bristol, Eng.	Feb. 10, 1782	Mar. 22, 1864	82
*Gillett, Eliphalet	Hallowell	<i>Div.</i>	Colchester, Ct.	Nov. 19, 1768	Oct. 19, 1848	80
*Hasey, Benjamin	Topsham	<i>Law.</i>	Lebanon, Me.	July 5, 1771	Mar. 24, 1851	79
*Hayes, Wm. A.	S. Berwick	<i>Law.</i>	N. Yarm'th, Me.	Oct. 20, 1783	Apr. 15, 1851	68
*Holmes, John	Alfred	<i>Law.</i>	Kingston, Ms.	Mar. 1773	July, 7, 1843	70
*Jarvis, Leonard	Surry	<i>Law.</i>	Boston, Ms.	1782	1854	72

CATALOGUE OF THE

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupat'n</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Age</i>
*Kingsbery, Sanford	Gardiner	<i>Law.</i>	Claremont, N.H.	July. 31, 1782	Mar. 1, 1849	66
*King, William	Bath	<i>Merch.</i>	Scarboro', Me.	Feb. 9, 1768	June 17, 1852	84
*Lincoln, Enoch	Paris	<i>Law.</i>	Worcester, Ms.	Dec. 28, 1788	Oct. 8, 1829	41
*Lincoln, Isaac	Brunswick	<i>Med.</i>	Cobasset, Ms.	Jan. 26, 1780	Mar. 6, 1868	88
*Longfellow, Steph.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Gorham, Me.	Mar. 23, 1776	Aug. 3, 1849	73
*Mann, Ariel	Hallowell	<i>Med.</i>	Wrentham, Ms.	May 14, 1777	Mar. 16, 1828	51
*McGaw, Jacob	Bangor	<i>Law</i>	Merrimac, N.H.	Sept. 8, 1778	May 12, 1867	89
*Mellen, Prentiss	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Sterling, Ms	Oct. 11, 1764	Dec. 31, 1840	76
*Merrick, John	Hallowell	<i>Gent.</i>	London, Eng.	Aug. 27, 1766	Oct. 22, 1861	95
*Nichols, Ichabod	Portland	<i>Div.</i>	Portsm'th, N.H.	July 5, 1784	Jan. 2, 1859	74
*Orr, Benjamin	Brunswick	<i>Law.</i>	Bedford, N.H.	Déc. 1, 1772	Sept. 5, 1828	56
*Packard, Hezekiah	Wiscasset	<i>Div.</i>	Bridgewater, Ms.	Dec. 6, 1761	Apr. 25, 1849	87
*Parker, James	Gardiner	<i>Med.</i>	Boston, Ms.	Jan. 1768	Nov. 9, 1837	69
*Parris, Albion K.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Hebron, Me.	Jan. 19, 1788	Feb. 11, 1857	69
*Payson, Edward	Portland	<i>Div.</i>	Rindge, N. H.	July, 25, 1783	Oct. 22, 1827	44
*Preble, Wm. P.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	York, Me.	Nov. 27, 1783	Oct. 11, 1857	74
*Rose, Daniel	Thomaston	<i>Med.</i>	N. Haven, Ct.	1771	Oct. 25, 1833	62
*Russell, Edward	N. Yarmouth	<i>Merch.</i>	Yarmouth, Me.	Aug. 31, 1783	Nov. 29, 1835	52
*Seaver, Josiah W.	S. Berwick	<i>Merch.</i>	Norwich, Vt.	Apr. 12, 1777	Sept. 29, 1847	70
*Sewall, David	York	<i>Law.</i>	York, Me.	Oct. 7, 1735	Oct. 22, 1825	90
Shepley, Ether	Saco, Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Groton, Ms.	Nov. 2, 1789		
*Smith, S. E.	Wiscasset	<i>Law,</i>	Hollis, N. H.	Mar. 12, 1788	Mar. 3, 1860	72
†Sprague, Peleg	Hallowell	<i>Law.</i>	Duxbury, Ms	Apr. 28, 1793		
*Tappan, Benj.	Augusta	<i>Div.</i>	Newbury, Ms.	Nov. 7, 1788	Dec. 23, 1863	75
*Vaughan, Benj.	Hallowell	<i>Med.</i>	Jamaica, W. I.	Apr. 30, 1751	Dec. 8, 1835	85
*Ware, Ashur	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Sherburne, Ms.	Feb. 10, 1782	Sept. 9, 1873	91
*Warren, Eben. T.	Hallowell	<i>Law.</i>			Aug. 1829	
*Weston, Nathan, jr.	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Augusta, Me.	July 27, 1782	June 4, 1872	90
*Williams, Reuel	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Augusta, Me.	June 2, 1783	July 25, 1862	79
*Williamson, W. D.	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Canterbury, Ct.	July 31, 1779	May 27, 1846	66
*Wilson, John	Belfast	<i>Law.</i>	Peterboro', N.H.	1777	Aug. 9, 1848	71
*Wingate, Joshua	Portland	<i>Merch.</i>	Haverhill, Ms.		Nov. 6, 1843	

Associate Resident Members in the order of their election.

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death.</i>	<i>Age</i>
1822						
*Abbott, John	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B. C.</i>	Andover, Ms.	1759	1843	84
*Allen, Frederick	Gardiner	<i>Law.</i>	Chilmark, Ms.	Dec. 22, 1780	Sept. 28, 1865	85
*Bailey, Jeremiah	Wiscasset	<i>Law.</i>	L. Compton, R. I.	May 1, 1773	July, 6, 1853	80
*Chapin, Stephen	Waterville	<i>Div.</i>	Milford, Ms.	Nov. 4, 1778	Oct. 1, 1845	67
*Chaplin, Jeremiah	Waterville	<i>Div.</i>	Rowley, Ms.	Jan. 2, 1760	May 7, 1841	81
*Chessman, David	Hallowell	<i>Div.</i>				
*Cleaveland, Parker	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B. C.</i>	Byfield, Ms.	Jan. 15, 1780	Oct. 15, 1858	78
*Cobb, David	Gouldsboro	<i>Med.</i>	Attleboro' Ms.	Sept. 14, 1748	Apr. 17, 1830	82
*Everett, Ebenezer	Brunswick	<i>Law.</i>	Beverly, Ms.	Aug. 16, 1788	Feb. 6, 1869	80
*Frothingham, Wm.	Belfast	<i>Div.</i>	Cambridge, Ms.	Mar. 14, 1775	June 24, 1852	77
*Greeley, Allen	Turner	<i>Div.</i>	N. Yarm'th, Me.	May 15, 1781	Oct. 25, 1866	85
*Greene, Benj.	S. Berwick	<i>Law.</i>	Waltham, Ms.	May 5, 1764	Oct. 15, 1837	73
*Greenleaf, Jon'than	Wells	<i>Div.</i>	Newburyp't, Ms.	Sept. 4, 1785	1865	80
*Greenleaf, Moses	Williamsburg	<i>Surv'y.</i>	Newburyp't, Ms.	1778	1834	56
*Johnson, Alfred, jr.	Belfast	<i>Law.</i>	Newburyp't, Ms.	Aug. 13, 1789	Mar. 22, 1852	63
*Lincoln, Theodore	Dennysville	<i>Gent.</i>	Hingham, Ms.	Dec. 30, 1763	June 15, 1852	88
*Loomis, Harvey	Bangor	<i>Div.</i>	Torrington, Ct.	1785	Jan. 1825	40
*McKeen, Joseph	Brunswick	<i>Merch.</i>	Beverly, Ms.	Mar. 12, 1787	Dec. 2, 1865	78
*Newman, Sam'l P.	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B. C.</i>	Andover, Ms.	Jan. 6, 1797	Feb. 10, 1842	45
*Nourse, Peter	Ellsworth	<i>Div.</i>	Boston, Ms.	Oct. 10, 1774	Mar. 25, 1840	66
*Sewall, Joseph	Bath	<i>Law.</i>	Bath, Me.	Apr. 21, 1795	Mar. 26, 1851	56
*Stebbens, Josiah	Alna	<i>Law.</i>	Brimfield, Ms.	Nov. 19, 1766	Mar. 1, 1829	63
*Tappan, Enoch S.	Augusta	<i>Med.</i>	Newbury, Ms.	1781	July 26, 1847	66
*Thatcher, George	Biddeford	<i>Law.</i>	Yarmouth, Ms.	Apr. 12, 1754	Apr. 6, 1824	70
1824						
*Johnson, Samuel	Alna	<i>Div.</i>	Winthrop, Me.	May 19, 1792	Nov. 16, 1836	44
1828						
*Boutelle, Timothy	Waterville	<i>Law.</i>	Leominster, Ms.	Nov. 10, 1777	Nov. 12, 1855	77
*Bradley, Sam'l A.	Fryeburg	<i>Law.</i>	Concord, N. H.	Nov. 22, 1774	Sept. 24, 1844	70
*Brown, Theodore S.	Vassalboro	<i>Law.</i>	Vassalboro, Me.	June, 20, 1803	1862	59
*Bronson, David	Anson	<i>Law.</i>	Suffield, Ct.	Feb. 8, 1800	Nov. 20, 1863	63
*Clark, William	Hallowell	<i>Law.</i>	Hallowell, Me.	Oct. 12, 1788	May 18, 1855	67

CATALOGUE OF THE

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death.</i>	<i>Age</i>
*Cummings, Asa	Portland	<i>Div.</i>	Andover, Ms.	Sept. 29, 1790	June 30, 1856	66
*Cutler, Nathan	Farmington	<i>Law.</i>	Warren, Ms.	May, 29, 1775	June 8, 1861	86
*Daveis, Chas. S.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Portland, Me.	May 10, 1788	Mar. 30, 1865	77
*Deane, John G.	Ellsworth	<i>Law.</i>	Raynham, Ms.	Mar. 27, 1785	Nov. 10, 1839	54
*Dunlap, Robert P.	Brunswick	<i>Law.</i>	Brunswick, Me.	1794	Oct. 20, 1859	65
*Emerson, Samuel	Kennebunk	<i>Med.</i>	Hollis, N.H.	Sept. 6, 1765	Aug. 7, 1851	86
*Evans, George	Gardiner	<i>Law.</i>	Hallowell, Me.	Jan. 12, 1797	Apr. 6, 1867	70
*Everett, Stevens	Hallowell	<i>Div.</i>	Dorchester, Ms.	Dec. 14, 1797	Feb. 20, 1833	35
*Fessenden, Samuel	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Fryeburg, Me.	July 16, 1784	Mar. 19, 1869	85
*Fuller, Henry W.	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Middletown, Ct.	Jan. 1, 1784	Jan. 29, 1841	57
*Hathaway, Josh. W.	Ellsworth	<i>Law.</i>	Conway, N. H.	Nov. 10, 1797	June 6, 1862	65
*How, Nathaniel	Waterford	<i>Law.</i>	Hillsboro', N.H.	Apr. 2, 1775	Jan. 19, 1829	54
*Isley, Isaac	Portland	<i>Merch.</i>	Falmouth, Me.	Mar. 11, 1765	Oct. 17, 1853	88
*McIntire, Rufus	Parsonsfield	<i>Law.</i>	York, Me.	Dec. 19, 1784	Apr. 28, 1866	81
*McKeen, James	Topsham	<i>Med.</i>	Beverly, Ms.	Nov. 27, 1797	Nov. 28, 1873	76
*McKeen, John	Brunswick	<i>Gent.</i>	Beverly, Ms.	Dec. 21, 1789	Dec. 2, 1861	72
*McLellan, Judah	Bloomfield	<i>Law.</i>	Thompson, Ct.	1779		
*Mellen, Grenville	N. Yarmouth	<i>Gent.</i>	Biddeford, Me.	June 19, 1799	Sept. 5, 1841	42
*Nason, Reuben	Gorham	<i>Teach.</i>	Dover, N. H.		1835	
Packard, Alpheus S.	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B. C.</i>	Chelmsford, Ms.	Dec. 23, 1798		
*Packard, Charles	Brunswick	<i>Div.</i>	Chelmsford, Ms.	Apr. 12, 1801	Feb. 17, 1864	63
*Payne, Lemuel	Winslow	<i>Law.</i>				
*Pomeroy, Swan L.	Bangor	<i>Div.</i>		Mar. 4, 1797	Mar. 17, 1869	72
*Preston, Warren	Norridgewock	<i>Law.</i>				
*Redington, Asa jr.	Waterville	<i>Law.</i>	Waterville, Me.	July 4, 1789	June 5, 1874	85
*Robinson, Sylv. W.	Hallowell	<i>Law.</i>	Litchfield, Me.	Sept. 29, 1801	1849	48
*Selden, Calvin	Norridgewock	<i>Law.</i>	W. Hartford, Ct.	Feb. 23, 1779	Nov. 28, 1859	80
*Shepard, George	Hallowell	<i>Div.</i>	Plainfield, Ct.	Aug. 26, 1801	Mar. 23, 1868	66
*Sheppard, John H.	Wiscasset	<i>Law.</i>	Cirencester, Eng.	Mar. 17, 1789	June, 25, 1873	84
*Thayer, Solomon	Lubec	<i>Law.</i>	Bridgewater, Ms.	Sept. 4, 1789	Dec. 22, 1857	68
*Tyler, Bennett	Portland	<i>Div.</i>	Middlebury, Ct.	July, 10, 1783	May 14, 1858	75
*Upham, Thos. C.	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B. C.</i>	Deerfield, N.H.	Jan. 30, 1799	Apr. 2, 1872	73

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

9

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupat'n</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death.</i>	<i>Age</i>
*Warren, Henry	Palmyra	<i>Law.</i>				
*Wells, Geo. W.	Kennebunk	<i>Div.</i>	Boston, Ms.	Oct. 1804	Mar. 17, 1843	38
*Weston, Jona. D.	Eastport	<i>Law.</i>			1834	
*Whitman, Levi	Norway	<i>Law.</i>	Wellfleet, Ms.	Jan. 16, 1789	Oct. 2, 1872	83
*Willis, William	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Haverhill, Ms.	Aug. 31, 1794	Feb. 17, 1870	76
1830						
*Black, John	Ellsworth	<i>Gent.</i>	London, Eng.	July 31, 1781	Oct. 25, 1856	75
*Chamberlain, M.	Castine	<i>Law.</i>	Peacham, Vt.	June 17, 1796	May 14, 1839	43
*Fisher, Jonathan	Bluehill	<i>Div.</i>	N.Braintree, Ms.	Oct. 7, 1768	Sept. 22, 1847	79
*Greenleaf, Simon	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Newburypt, Ms.	Dec. 5, 1783	Oct. 6, 1853	70
*Hurd, Carlton	Fryeburg	<i>Div.</i>	Newport, N.H.	Dec. 26, 1795	Dec. 6, 1855	60
*Kellogg, Elijah	Portland	<i>Div.</i>	S.Hadley, Ms	Aug. 17, 1761	Mar. 9, 1842	80
*Pond, Samuel M.	Bucksport	<i>Law.</i>				
*Porter, Rufus K.	Machias	<i>Law.</i>	Biddef'd, Me.	Sept. 6, 1794	Dec. 11, 1856	62
*Sewall, Wm. B.	Portland, Kennebunk	<i>Law.</i>	York, Me.	Dec. 18, 1782	Mar. 4, 1869	86
*Smith, John	Bangor	<i>Div.</i>			1831	
*Smyth, Wm.	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B. C.</i>	Pittston, Me	Feb. 2, 1797	Apr. 5, 1868	71
*Tilton, Nathan	Scarboro	<i>Div.</i>	Kingst'n, N.H.	July 2, 1772	Oct. 4, 1851	79
*Whitman, Ezekiel	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Bridgewater, Ms.	Mar. 9, 1776	Aug. 1, 1866	90
1831						
*Cutter, William	Portland	<i>Gent.</i>	Yarmouth, Me	May 15, 1801	Feb. 8, 1867	66
*Folsom, George	Saco	<i>Law.</i>	Kennebunk, Me.	May 23, 1802	Mar. 27, 1869	67
*Kavanagh, Edw'd	New Castle	<i>Gent.</i>	Newcastle, Me	Apr. 27, 1795	Jan. 21, 1844	49
Kent, Edward	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Concord, N.H	Jan. 8, 1802		
†Longfellow, H.W.	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B. C.</i>	Portland, Me.	Feb. 27, 1807		
†Peck, Isaac	Gardiner	<i>Div.</i>				
*Vaughan, John A.	Hallowell	<i>Div.</i>	Brighton, Ms.	Oct. 13, 1795	May, 1865	70
Williams, Daniel	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Augusta, Me.	Nov. 12, 1795		
1834						
*Adams, Joseph	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Sudbury, Ms.	1805	Aug. 23, 1850	45
*Adams, Solomon	Portland	<i>Teach.</i>			1870	
*Beckwith, Geo. C.	Portland	<i>Div.</i>			May 12, 1870	70

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death.</i>	<i>Age</i>
*Bourne, Edw'd E.	Kennebunk	<i>Law.</i>	Kennebunk, Me.	Mar. 19, 1797	Sept. 23, 1873	76
*Cole, Joseph G.	Paris	<i>Law.</i>	Lincoln, Ms.	Mar. 16, 1801	Nov. 12, 1851	50
Cummings, Nathan	Portland	<i>Gent.</i>	Portland, Me	Aug. 23, 1796		
*Deblois, Thos. A.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Boston, Ms.	Dec. 2, 1794	Sept. 14, 1867	72
*Dwight, Wm. T.	Portland	<i>Div.</i>	Greenfield, Ct	June 15, 1795	Oct. 22, 1865	70
*Emery, Nicholas	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Exeter, N H.	Sept. 4, 1776	Aug. 24, 1861	85
*Pierce, Geo. W.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Baldwin, Me.	Dec. 2, 1805	Nov. 15, 1835	30
*Potter, Barrett	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Lebanon, N.H	May 8, 1777	Nov. 16, 1865	88
*Preble, Edward D.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Portland, Me.	Feb. 22, 1806	1845	
†Shepley, David	N. Yarmouth	<i>Div.</i>	Norridgew'k, Me	June 1, 1804		
*Whitman, Jason	Saco	<i>Div.</i>	Bridgewater, Ms.	Apr. 30, 1799	Jan. 25, 1848	49
1836						
†Farmer, Wm.	Dresden	<i>Div.</i>				
*Ladd, Wm.	Minot	<i>Gent.</i>	Exeter, N. H.	May 10, 1778	Apr. 9, 1841	63
1839						
Benson, Samuel P.	Winthrop	<i>Law.</i>	Winthrop, Me.	Nov. 28, 1804		
*Curtis, Thomas	Bangor	<i>Div.</i>			1859	
*Emmons, Wms.	Hallowell	<i>Law.</i>	Franklin, Ms.	May 2, 1784	Oct. 8, 1855	71
†Hedge, Fred. H.	Bangor	<i>Div.</i>	Cambridge, Ms.	Dec. 12, 1805		
†Pattison, Robt. E.	Waterville	<i>Div.</i>				
Woods, Leonard, jr.	Brunswick	<i>Pres. B C.</i>	Newbury, Ms.	Nov. 24, 1807		
1846						
†Abbot, John S.	Norridgewock	<i>Law.</i>	Temple, Me.	Jan. 6, 1807		
†Allen, Elisha H.	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	New Salem, Ms.	Jan. 28, 1804		
*Allen, Fred. H.	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	New Salem, Ms.	Feb. 3, 1806	Apr. 1868	62
*Anderson, John	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Windham, Me.	July 29, 1792	1853	61
*Appleton, N. D.	Alfred	<i>Law.</i>	Ipswich, Ms.	May 20, 1794	Nov. 1861	67
†Batchelder, J. M.	Saco	<i>Gent.</i>	N. Ipsw'ch, N.H.	Oct. 13, 1811		
*Belcher, Hiram	Farmington	<i>Law.</i>	Augusta, Me.	1790	May 6, 1857	67
Bradbury, James W.	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Parsonsfield, Me.	June 10, 1803		
*Bradley, Samuel	Saco	<i>Law.</i>	Fryeburg, Me.	Mar. 29, 1802	June 26, 1849	47
†Clement, Jonathan	Topsham	<i>Div.</i>	Danville, Vt.	June 20, 1797		

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death.</i>	
Crosby, Wm. G.	Belfast	<i>Law.</i>	Belfast, Me.	Sept. 10, 1805		
*Dana, John W.	Fryeburg	<i>Gent.</i>	Fryeburg, Me.	1808	Dec. 22, 1867	59
Deering, Nathaniel	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Portland, Me.	June 25, 1791		
*Downes, George	Calais	<i>Law.</i>	Walpole, Ms.	Aug. 29, 1793	Oct. 4, 1869	76
*Eastman, Philip	Harrison, Saco	<i>Law.</i>	Chatham, N.H.	Feb. 5, 1799	Aug. 6, 1869	70
*Ellingwood, J. W.	Bath	<i>Div.</i>	Beverly, Ms.	May 2, 1782	Aug. 19, 1860	78
Emery, Moses	Saco	<i>Law.</i>	Poland, Me.	July 16, 1794		
*Emery, Stephen	Paris	<i>Law.</i>	Minot, Me.	Apr. 23, 1790	Nov. 18, 1863	73
†Fales, Thomas F.	Brunswick	<i>Div.</i>				
Farley, E. Wilder	Newcastle	<i>Law.</i>	Newcastle, Me.	Aug. 29, 1817		
*Farrar, Samuel	Bangor	<i>Merch.</i>				
*Fessenden, W. P.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Boscawen, N.H.	Oct. 6, 1806	Sept. 8, 1869	63
*Freeman, Charles	Limerick	<i>Div.</i>	Portland, Me.	June 3, 1794	Sept. 19, 1853	59
Gilman, John T.	Portland	<i>Med.</i>	Exeter, N. H.	May 9, 1806		
*Goodenow, Daniel	Alfred	<i>Law.</i>	Henniker, N.H.	Oct. 30, 1793	Oct. 7, 1863	70
*Goodenow, Robt.	Farmington	<i>Law.</i>	Henniker, N.H.	1800	May 16, 1874	74
*Goodenow, Wm.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Henniker, N.H.	Sept. 16, 1797	Sept. 9, 1863	66
*Granger, Daniel T.	Eastport	<i>Law.</i>	Saco, Me.	July 13, 1807	Dec. 27, 1854	47
*Groton, Nathaniel	Bath	<i>Law.</i>	Waldoboro' Me	May 9, 1791	Oct. 25, 1858	67
*Hayes, David	Saccarappa	<i>Law.</i>	N. Yarm'th, Me	July 11, 1795	Mar. 26, 1870	75
†Hodgdon, John	Houlton	<i>Law.</i>	Weare, N. H.	Oct. 8, 1800		
*Holmes, Ezekiel	Winthrop	<i>Med.</i>	Kingston, Ms.	1800	Feb. 9, 1865	64
Howard, Joseph	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Brownfield, Me	Mar. 14, 1800		
*Hyde, Zina	Bath	<i>Merch.</i>	Lebanon, Conn.	Oct. 14, 1787	Sept. 19, 1856	69
†Hlsley, Charles P.	Portland	<i>Editor</i>				
†Kellogg, Elijah, jr.	Harpwell	<i>Div.</i>	Portland, Me.	May 20, 1813		
*Leland, Joseph W.	Saco	<i>Law.</i>	Saco, Me.	July 31, 1805	Sept. 7, 1858	53
*Libby, Joseph	Portland	<i>Teach.</i>	Buxton, Me.	Dec. 13, 1793	Aug. 27, 1871	78
*Little, Josiah S.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Minot, Me.	July 9, 1801	Apr. 2, 1862	60
†Moody, Isaiah P.	York	<i>Law.</i>	York, Me.	Dec. 3, 1804		
Nourse, Amos	Bath	<i>Med.</i>	Bolton, Ms.	Dec. 17, 1794		
*O'Brien, John M.	Brunswick	<i>Law.</i>	Newbury, Ms.	Sept. 1786	Dec. 19, 1865	79

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupat'n</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death.</i>	<i>Age</i>
*Otis, John	Hallowell	<i>Law.</i>	Leeds, Me.	Oct. 3, 1801		
*Paine, William	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Portland, Me.	Nov. 28, 1806	1861	55
†Palmer, Ray	Bath	<i>Div.</i>	L. Compton, R. I.	Nov. 12, 1808		
*Pierce, Josiah	Gorham	<i>Law.</i>	Baldwin, Me.	Aug. 15, 1792	June 25, 1866	74
Pond, Enoch	Bangor	<i>Div.</i>	Wrentham, Ms.	July 29, 1791		
*Poor, John A.	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Andover, Me.	Jan. 8, 1808	Sept. 5, 1871	63
*Quinby, Moses	Westbrook	<i>Law.</i>	Falmouth, Me.	Apr. 1786		
*Randall, Benj.	Bath	<i>Law.</i>	Topsham, Me.	Nov. 14, 1789	Oct. 14, 1857	68
Rowe, James S.	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Exeter, N. H.	Oct. 20, 1807		
Ruggles, John	Thomaston	<i>Law.</i>	Westboro', Ms.	1790		
†Sabine, Lorenzo	Eastport					
†Sawtelle, Cullen	Norridgew'ck	<i>Law.</i>	Norridgew'k, Me.	Sept. 24, 1805		
*Severance, Luther	Augusta	<i>Editor</i>	Montague, Ms.	Oct. 28, 1797	Jan. 25, 1855	57
*Soule, Charles	Norway	<i>Div.</i>	Freeport, Me.	Aug. 29, 1794	June, 1869	75
Storer, Seth	Scarboro'	<i>Gent.</i>	Saco, Me.	Feb. 1787		
†Swallow, Geo. C.	Brunswick	<i>Teach.</i>	Buckfield, Me.	Nov. 17, 1817		
*Tenney, John S.	Norridgew'ck	<i>Law.</i>	Rowley, Ms.	Jan. 21, 1793	Aug. 23, 1869	76
†Thacher, Peter	Machias	<i>Law.</i>	Kennebunk, Me.	Oct. 14, 1810		
*Thurston, David	Winthrop	<i>Div.</i>	Georgetown, Ms.	Feb. 6, 1779	May 7, 1865	86
*Thurston, Eli	Hallowell	<i>Div.</i>	Brighton, Ms.	June 14, 1808	Dec. 19, 1870	62
*Virgin, Peter C.	Rumford	<i>Law.</i>	Concord, N. H.	July 25, 1782	Apr. 8, 1872	90
*Vose, Richard H.	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Augusta, Me.	Nov. 8, 1803	Jan. 19, 1864	60
*Walker, Joseph	Paris	<i>Div.</i>	Townsend, Ms.	Feb. 19, 1792	Apr. 8, 1851	59
Wheeler, Amos D.	Topsham	<i>Div.</i>	Woodstock, Vt.	Dec. 13, 1803		
*Wood, Wilmot	Wiscasset	<i>Law.</i>	Wiscasset, Me.	Feb. 16, 1796	May 2, 1865	67
*Woodhull, Richard	Thomaston	<i>Div.</i>	Fairfield, Ct.	Jan. 15, 1802	Nov. 12, 1873	71
*Woodman, J. C.	Minot	<i>Law.</i>	New Gloucester, Me.	Jan. 23, 1804	Nov. 8, 1869	65
1847						
†Cole, Jonathan	Hallowell	<i>Div.</i>				
*Fairfield, John	Saco	<i>Law.</i>	Saco, Me.	Jan. 30, 1797	Dec. 24, 1847	50
†Shepley, Samuel H.	N. Yarmouth	<i>Div.</i>	Walden, Vt.	Mar. 5, 1810		

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday</i>	<i>Death.</i>	<i>Age</i>
1849						
Carruthers, John J.	Portland	<i>Div.</i>	Dumfries, Scot.	1800		
Champlin, J. T.	Waterville	<i>Pres. W.C.</i>				
†Chickering, J. W.	Portland	<i>Div.</i>				
*Cony, Samuel	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Augusta, Me.	Feb. 27, 1811	Oct. 5, 1870	60
†Gardiner, Fred.	Bath	<i>Div.</i>	Gardiner, Me.	Sept. 11, 1822		
Haines, W. P.	Biddeford	<i>Law.</i>	Cant'rbury, N.H.	Feb. 22, 1811		
*Ingalls, Theodore	Portland	<i>Med.</i>	Bridgton, Me.	Feb. 20, 1790	June 9, 1857	67
Keeley, Geo. W.	Waterville	<i>Prof. W.C.</i>	N'thampt'n, Eng	Dec. 25, 1803		
*Richardson, H. L.	Bath	<i>Law.</i>	Bath, Me.	Nov. 21, 1819	Mar. 28, 1866	46
Sheldon, David N.	Waterville	<i>Pres. W.C.</i>	Suffield, Ct.	June 26, 1807		
*Simonton, Putnam	Searsport	<i>Med.</i>		1869		
1850						
Fox, Edward	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Portland, Me.	June, 1815		
*Thacher, Stephen	Lubec	<i>Gent.</i>	Lebanon, Conn.	1773	Feb. 19, 1859	85
Williamson, Joseph	Belfast	<i>Law.</i>	Belfast, Me.	Oct. 5, 1828		
1851						
*Burgess, George	Gardiner	<i>Div.</i>	Providence, R.I.	Oct. 31, 1809	Apr. 23, 1866	56
†Goodwin, Dan'l R.	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B.C.</i>	Berwick, Me.	Apr. 12, 1811		
†Paine, Henry W.	Hallowell	<i>Law.</i>	Winslow, Me.	Aug. 30, 1810		
Palfrey, Cazneau	Belfast	<i>Div.</i>	Boston, Ms.	Aug. 11, 1805		
*Robbins, A. C.	Brunswick	<i>Law.</i>	Union, Me.	June 3, 1816	Dec. 31, 1868	52
Shepley, Geo. F.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Saco, Me.	Jan. 1, 1819		
†Southgate, Wm. S.	Portland	<i>Div.</i>	Portland, Me.	Apr. 10, 1831		
1854						
†Abbot, John S. C.	Brunswick	<i>Author</i>	Brunswi'k, Me	Sept. 16, 1805		
†Boody, Henry H.	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B.C.</i>	Jackson, Me.	Nov. 10, 1816		
†Hitchcock, R. D.	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B.C.</i>	E. Machias, Me.	Aug. 15, 1817		
Torsey, Henry P.	Readfield	<i>Teach.</i>	Monmo'th, Me.	Sept. 1819		
1856						
Morrill, Lot M.	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Belgrade, Me.	May 3, 1813		
*Barnes, Phinehas	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Orland, Me.	Jan. 21, 1811	Aug. 21, 1871	60

CATALOGUE OF THE

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death.</i>	<i>Age</i>
1859						
*Ballard, Edward	Brunswick	<i>Div.</i>	Hopkint'n, N.H.	Nov. 11, 1804	Nov. 14, 1870	66
*Child, James L.	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Augusta, Me.	May 31, 1792	Aug. 16, 1862	70
Cushman, David Q.	Warren	<i>Div.</i>	Wiscasset, Me	Dec. 2, 1807		
Eaton, Cyrus	Warren	<i>Teach.</i>	Southboro', Ms	Feb. 11, 1784		
Fiske, John O,	Bath	<i>Div.</i>	Bangor, Me.	June 6, 1818		
*Hamlin, Elijah L.	Bangor	<i>Law,</i>	Livermore, Me.	Mar. 29, 1800	July 16, 1872	72
†Locke, John L.	Camden					
Rice, Richard D.	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Union, Me.	Apr. 11, 1810		
Sewall, Rufus K.	Wiscasset	<i>Law.</i>	Edgecomb, Me.	Jan. 22, 1814		
1861						
North, James W.	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Clinton, Me.	Feb. 12, 1810		
Sewall, Fred. D.	Bath	<i>Law.</i>	Bath, Me.	Jan. 22, 1826		
†True, N. T.	Bethel	<i>Teach.</i>	Pownal, Me.	Mar. 15, 1812		
1862						
Barrows, Wm. G.	Brunswick	<i>Law.</i>	Yarmouth, Me.	Jan. 12, 1821		
*Dummer, Charles	Hallowell	<i>Law.</i>	Hallowell Me.	1793	June 28, 1872	79
†Perry, W. Stevens	Portland	<i>Div.</i>				
1864						
Appleton, John	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	N. Ipsw'ch, N.H.	June 12, 1804		
Blaine, James G.	Augusta	<i>Editor</i>	W'shigt'n Co. Pa	Jan. 31, 1830		
Dike, Samuel F.	Bath	<i>Div</i>	Bridgewater, Ms.	Mar. 17, 1815		
Gilman, Charles J.	Brunswick	<i>Gent.</i>	Exeter, N. H.	Feb. 26, 1824		
†McKenzie, Alex.	Augusta	<i>Div.</i>	N. Bedford, Ms.	Dec. 14, 1830		
†Smith, Joseph E.	Wiscasset	<i>Law.</i>	Wiscasset, Me.	Mar. 19, 1835		
*Smith, Wm. B.	Machias	<i>Law.</i>	Machias, Me.	June 3, 1806	Feb. 23, 1869.	63
*Swan, Joshua A.	Kennebunk	<i>Div.</i>	Lowell, Ms.	Jan. 18, 1822	Oct. 31, 1871	49
Washburn, Israel, jr.	Orono	<i>Law.</i>	Livermore, Me.	June 6, 1813		
Waterman, John A.	Gorham	<i>Law.</i>	Windham, Me.	June 24, 1827		
†Weston, Edw'd P.	Gorham	<i>Teach.</i>	Cumb'rland, Me	Jan. 19, 1819		
Williams, Joseph H.	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Augusta, Me.	Feb. 15, 1814		

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death.</i>	<i>Age</i>
1865						
Brown, John M.	Portland	<i>Merch.</i>	Portland, Me	Dec. 14, 1838		
Bryant, Hubbard W.	Portland	<i>B'ksell'r</i>	Boston, Ms.	Apr. 1, 1839		
Chamberlain, J. L.	Brunswick	<i>Pres. B. C.</i>	Brewer, Me	Sept. 8, 1828		
*Fessenden, T. A. D.	Lewiston	<i>Law.</i>	Portland, Me	Jan. 23, 1826	Sept. 28, 1868	42
Godfrey, John E.	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Hampden, Me	Sept. 6, 1809		
Granger, Joseph	Calais	<i>Law.</i>	Newburyp't, Ms.	Sept. 25, 1797		
Jewett, Theodore H.	S. Berwick	<i>Med</i>	S. Berwick, Me	Mar. 24, 1815		
†Pierce, Josiah, jr.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Gorham, Me	June 14, 1827		
Sewall, Jotham B.	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B. C.</i>	Bluehill, Me	Oct. 3, 1825		
1866						
Bailey, Bernard C.	Bath	<i>Merch.</i>	Hanover, Ms.	May 17, 1796		
*Davis, Woodbury	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Standish, Me.	July 25, 1818	Aug. 13, 1871	53
Donnell, Jotham	Houlton	<i>Med.</i>	Aina, Me	Nov. 18, 1814		
Jackson, G. E. B.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Portland, Me.	Aug. 14, 1829		
*Ludwig, Moses R.	Thomaston	<i>Med.</i>	Waldoboro', Me.	1800	Sept. 6, 1870	70
Peters, John A.	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Ellsworth, Me.	Oct. 9, 1822		
Swan, Charles E.	Calais	<i>Med.</i>	Calais, Me.	Sept. 5, 1822		
Tappan, Benj. jr.	Norridgewo'k	<i>Div</i>	Augusta, Me.	June 26, 1815		
1867						
*Allen, William	Norridgewo'k	<i>Farmer</i>	Chilmark, Ms.	Apr. 16, 1780	July 1, 1873	93
Bickford, Calvin	Warren	<i>Teach</i>	Sedgwick, Me.	Jan. 2, 1813		
Crosby, Josiah	Dexter	<i>Law.</i>	Atkinson, N. H.	Nov. 24, 1816		
Cutler, John L.	Augusta	<i>Law.</i>	Farmingt'n, me.	Dec. 15, 1816		
Duren, Elphathan F.	Bangor	<i>B'ksell'r</i>	Boston, Ms.	Jan. 14, 1814		
Elder, Jairus G.	Lewiston		St. Albans, Me.	Mar. 12, 1835		
†Harris Samuel	Brunswick	<i>Pres. B. C.</i>	Machias, Me.	June 14, 1814		
Talbot, George F.	Machias	<i>Law.</i>	E. Machias, Me	Jan. 16, 1819		
1868						
Boardman, Sam'l L.	Augusta	<i>Editor</i>	Skowheg'n, me.	Mar. 30, 1836		
Clifford, Nathan	Portland	<i>Law</i>	Rumney, N. H.	Aug. 18, 1803		
Gardiner, R. H. jr.	Gardiner	<i>Gent.</i>	Pittston, Me.	Nov. 3, 1809		
Lincoln, John D.	Brunswick	<i>Med.</i>	Brunswick, Me.	June 1, 1821		

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>	<i>Death.</i>	<i>Age</i>
Lockwood, A. D.	Lewiston	<i>C.E.</i>	Providence, R.I.	Oct. 30, 1811		
Lynch, John	Portland	<i>Merch</i>	Portland, Me.	Feb. 15, 1825		
Neeley, Henry A.	Portland	<i>Div.</i>	Fayetteville, N.Y.	May 14, 1830		
Tallman, Benj. F.	Richmond	<i>Law.</i>	Woolwich, Me.	Apr. 30, 1800		
Witherlee, Wm. H.	Castine	<i>Gent.</i>				
1869						
Blake, Samuel H.	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Hartford, Me.	Jan. 1, 1807		
†Everett, Charles C.	Bangor	<i>Div.</i>	Brunswick, Me.	June 19, 1829		
†Fessenden, Jos. P.	Lewiston	<i>Med.</i>	Portland, Me.	Sept. 27, 1831		
Field, Edward M.	Bangor	<i>Med.</i>	Belfast, Me.	July 27, 1822		
Pierce, Lewis	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Gorham, Me.	Apr. 15, 1832		
Sewall, John S.	Brunswick	<i>Prof. B.C.</i>	Woolwich, Me.	Mar. 20, 1830		
Sewall, Wm. D.	Bath	<i>Merch.</i>	Bath, Me.	Jan. 16, 1797		
Titcomb, Joseph	Kennebunk	<i>Merch.</i>	Kennebunk, Me.	June 8, 1822		
Wells, Walter	Portland	<i>Gent.</i>	Portland, Me.	Nov. 17, 1832		
1870						
Burnham, Edw'd P.	Saco	<i>Law.</i>	Kennebunkpt, Me.	Dec. 3, 1827		
Cram, Marshall	Brunswick	<i>Merch.</i>	Standish, Me.	Jan. 16, 1804		
†Hopkins, Samuel	Standish	<i>Div.</i>				
Ingalls, Henry	Wiscasset	<i>Law.</i>	Bridgton, Me.	Mar. 14, 1819		
Mussey, John	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Portland, Me.	Oct. 19, 1790		
*Prentiss, Henry E.	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Paris, Me.	Feb. 12, 1809	July 1, 1873	64
Thomas, W. W., jr.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Portland, Me.	Aug. 26, 1839		
1872						
Austin, Daniel	Kittery	<i>Div.</i>	Boston, Ms.	Nov. 21, 1793		
Barker, Lewis	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Exeter, Me.	Feb. 18, 1818		
Brown, Philip H.	Portland	<i>Merch.</i>	Portland, Me.	Oct. 26, 1831		
Clifford, William H.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Newfield, Me.	Aug. 11, 1841		
Danforth, Charles	Gardiner	<i>Law.</i>	Norridgewick, Me.	Aug. 1, 1815		
Hayes, Charles W.	Portland	<i>Div.</i>	Canandigua, N.Y.	Mar. 9, 1823		
Humphrey, S. F.	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Londonderry, N.H.	Mar. 8, 1822		
Lapham, Wm. B.	Augusta	<i>Med.</i>	Greenwood, Me.	Aug. 21, 1828		

	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Profession or Occupation</i>	<i>Birthplace.</i>	<i>Birthday.</i>
Perham, Sidney	Paris	<i>Gent.</i>	Woodsto'k, Me	Mar. 27, 1819
Roberts, Chas. W.	Bangor	<i>Merch.</i>	Oldtown, Me.	Oct. 22, 1828
Tenney, Albert G.	Brunswick	<i>Editor</i>	Newbury, Ms.	July 2, 1814
Woods, Noah	Bangor	<i>Law.</i>	Groton, Ms.	Sept. 26, 1811
1873				
Davis, George T.	Portland	<i>Law.</i>	Sandwich, Ms.	Jan. 12, 1810
Goold, William	Windham	<i>Gent.</i>	Windham, Me.	
Hackelton, Jas. H.	Bristol	<i>Teach.</i>	Bristol, Me.	Apr. 9, 1819
Hathaway, J. W.	Norridgew'ck	<i>Gent.</i>	Ellsworth, Me.	July 9, 1832
Longfellow, Alex. W.	Deering	<i>C.E.</i>	Portland, Me.	
O'Brien, O. St. C.	Bristol	<i>Med.</i>		
Varney, George J.	Brunswick	<i>Teach.</i>	Brunswick, Me.	Apr. 4, 1836

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Ezra Abbott.		<i>Cambridge, Mass.</i>
*John A. Andrew,	*1867	<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
*Alexander H. Bache,		<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
Leonard Bacon,		<i>New Haven, Conn.</i>
George Bancroft,		<i>New York</i>
William S. Bartlett,		<i>Chelsea, Mass.</i>
John R. Bartlett,		<i>Providence, R. I.</i>
Edward E. Beardsley,		<i>New Haven, Conn.</i>
Charles J. Biddle,		<i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>
Porter C. Bliss,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
Nathaniel Bouton,		<i>Concord, N. H.</i>
Frederick Brown,		<i>Bristol, Eng.</i>
*James Bowdoin,	*1834	<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
Paul A. Chadbourne,		<i>Williamstown, Mass.</i>
Peleg W. Chandler,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
Joseph L. Chester,		<i>London, Eng.</i>
William Cothren,		<i>Woodbury, Conn.</i>
*John P. Cleaveland,	*1873	<i>New York</i>
Nehemiah Cleaveland,		<i>New York</i>
Horace S. Cooley		<i>Springfield, Mass.</i>
*William Crabtree,	*1859	<i>Savannah, Geo.</i>
Charles Deane,		<i>Cambridge, Mass.</i>
*Henry A. S. Dearborn,	*1851	<i>Roxbury, Mass.</i>
Isaac Watts De Peyster,		<i>Tivoli, N. Y.</i>
Henry W. Dewhurst,		<i>London, Eng.</i>
John C. Dodge,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
S. G. Drake,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
*John Farmer,	*	<i>Concord, N. H.</i>
William W. Folwell,		<i>St. Paul, Minn.</i>
Alpheus Felch,		<i>Detroit, Mich.</i>
John Frothingham,		<i>Montreal, Can.</i>
*Albert Gallatin,	*1849	<i>New York</i>
D. G. Gilman,		<i>New Haven, Conn.</i>

*William F. Goodwin,	*1872	<i>Concord, N. H.</i>
J. D. Graham,		<i>U. S. Army</i>
Samuel A. Greene,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
*Patrick H. Greenleaf,	*1869	<i>Brooklyn, N. Y.</i>
Edward E. Hale,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
*John P. Hale,	*1873	<i>Dover, N. H.</i>
*Samuel Hale,	*1869	<i>Somersworth, N. H.</i>
Henry Charles Harford,		<i>London, Eng.</i>
Charles H. Hart,		<i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>
Henry A. Haynes,		<i>Burlington, Vt.</i>
J. E. Hilgard,		<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
Charles J. Hoadley,		<i>Lawrence, Mass.</i>
George N. Hosmer,		<i>Buffalo, N. Y.</i>
George F. Houghton,		<i>St. Albans, Vt.</i>
Joseph J. Howard,		<i>Blackheath, Eng.</i>
*Thaddeus M. Harris,	*1842	<i>Dorchester, Mass.</i>
Henry Huth,		<i>London, Eng.</i>
*William Jenks,	*1866	<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
John Jordan,		<i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>
George Jones,		<i>Savannah, Ga.</i>
*Lot Jones,	*1865	<i>New York</i>
John Johnston,		<i>Middletown, Conn.</i>
Frederick Kidder,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
*William L. Kip,	*	<i>San Francisco, Cal.</i>
J. G. Kohl,		<i>Bremen, Germany</i>
William B. Lawrence,		<i>New York</i>
*Josiah Little,	*1860	<i>Newburyport, Mass.</i>
William E. Logan,		<i>Montreal, Can.</i>
William H. Lord,		<i>Montpelier, Vt.</i>
R. H. Major,		<i>London, Eng.</i>
J. A. McAllister,		<i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>
Franklin M'Duffie,		<i>Rochester, N. H.</i>
Jules D'Aulnay Menou		<i>Paris, France</i>
Freeman H. Morse,		<i>London, Eng.</i>
B. Wistar Morris,		<i>Germantown, Pa.</i>
Thomas F. Moses,		<i>Urbana, Ohio</i>
Joel Munsell,		<i>Albany, N. Y.</i>
Beamish Murdoch,		<i>Halifax, N. S.</i>
John G. Palfrey,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
Usher Parsons,		<i>Providence, R. I.</i>
John Pike,		<i>Rowley, Mass.</i>

Jairus W. Perry,		<i>Salem, Mass.</i>
James W. Patterson,		<i>Hanover, N. H.</i>
George H. Preble,		<i>U. S. Navy</i>
J. Meredith Read,		<i>Albany, N. Y.</i>
*Eleazer W. Ripley,	*1840	<i>New Orleans, La.</i>
James Robb,		<i>Fredericton, N. B.</i>
Chandler Robbins,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
W. Noel Sainsbury,		<i>London, Eng.</i>
*James Savage,	*1873	<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
Frank Sewall,		<i>Urbana, Ohio</i>
John L. Sibley,		<i>Cambridge, Mass.</i>
*Jared Sparks,	*1866	<i>Cambridge, Mass.</i>
Henry Stevens,		<i>London, Eng.</i>
J. K. Teft,		<i>Savannah, Ga.</i>
J. Wingate Thornton,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
J. Hammond Trumbull,		<i>Hartford, Conn.</i>
Septimus Tuston,		<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
Alexander Vattermare,		<i>Paris, France</i>
A. G. Vermilye,		<i>Newburyport, Mass.</i>
Eugene Vetromile,		<i>Worcester, Mass.</i>
J. A. Vinton,		<i>Winchester, Mass.</i>
Nathaniel S. Waldron,		<i>Portsmouth, N. H.</i>
Charles A. Washburn,		<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
Albert B. Weymouth,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
William A. Wheeler,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
William A. Whitehead,		<i>Newark, N. J.</i>
William H. Whitmore,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
Robert C. Winthrop,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
*Thomas L. Winthrop,	*1841	<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
Emory Washburn,		<i>Cambridge, Mass.</i>
J. Fletcher Williams,		<i>St. Paul, Minn.</i>
J. K. Wiggin,		<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
Cyrus Woodman,		<i>Cambridge, Mass.</i>
William E. Woodward,		<i>Roxbury, Mass.</i>
Nathaniel Wright,		<i>Cincinnati, Ohio</i>

☞ The * and year affixed to the name indicate the decease and date of decease. We claim as corresponding members many gentlemen who have been acting members and have removed from the State, whose names will be found in their appropriate places in the foregoing Catalogue.

MEMBERS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY.

☞ The date of election is appended to the names of all except the original corporators.

DATE OF ELECT.		DATE OF ELECT.	
*Abbott, William		*Black, John	1830
†Abbot, John S. C.	1854	Blake, Samuel H.	1869
*Abbott, John	1822	*Bradbury, George	
†Abbot, John S.	1846	Bradbury, James W.	1846
*Adams, Joseph	1834	*Bradley, Samuel	1846
*Adams, Solomon	1834	*Bradley, Sam'l A.	1828
†Allen, Elisha H.	1846	*Bridge, James	
*Allen, Fred. H.	1846	*Bronson, David	1828
*Allen, William	1867	*Brown, Theodore S.	1828
*Allen, Frederick	1822	Brown, Philip H.	1872
*Allen, William		Brown, John M.	1865
*Ames, Benjamin		Bryant, Hubbard W.	1865
*Anderson, John	1846	Boardman, Sam'l L.	1868
*Appleton, N. D.	1846	*Bond, Thomas	
Appleton, John	1864	†Boody, Henry H.	1854
Austin, Daniel	1872	*Boutelle, Timothy	1828
		*Bourne, Edw'd E.	1834
*Bailey, Jeremiah	1822	*Burgess, George	1851
Bailey, Bernard C.	1866	Burnham, Edw'd P.	1870
*Balch, Horatio G.			
*Ballard, Edward	1859	Carruthers, John J.	1849
*Barnes, Phinehas	1856	Chamberlain, J. L.	1865
Barrows, Wm. G.	1862	*Chamberlain, M.	1830
Barker, Lewis	1872	Champlin, J. T.	1849
†Batchelder, J. M.	1846	*Chapin, Stephen	1822
*Beckwith, Geo. C.	1834	*Chaplin, Jeremiah	1822
*Belcher, Hiram	1846	*Chessman, David	1822
Benson, Samuel P.	1839	*Child, James L.	1859
Bickford, Calvin	1867	†Chickering, J. W.	1849
Blaine, James G.	1864	*Clark, William	1828

DATE OF ESECT.		DATE OF ELECT.	
*Cleaveland, Parker	1822	*Ellingwood, J. W.	1846
†Clement, Jonathan	1846	Emery, Moses	1846
Clifford, Nathan	1868	*Emery, Stephen	1846
Clifford, William H.	1872	*Emery, Nicholas	1834
Cram, Marshall	1870	*Emerson, Samuel	1828
*Cobb, David	1822	*Emmons, Wms.	1839
*Cole, Joseph G.	1834	*Evans, George	1828
†Cole, Jonathan	1847	*Everett, Stevens	1828
*Cogswell, Jonathan		†Everett, Charles C.	1869
*Cony, Daniel		*Everett, Ebenezer	1822
*Cony, Samuel	1849		
Crosby, Wm. G.	1846	*Fairfield, John	1847
Crosby, Josiah	1867	†Fales, Thomas F.	1846
Cummings, Nathan	1834	Farley, E. Wilder	1846
*Cummings, Asa	1828	†Farmer, Wm.	1836
*Curtis, Thomas	1839	*Farrar, Samuel	1846
Cushman, David Q.	1859	*Fessenden, W. P.	1846
Cutler, John L.	1867	*Fessenden, Samuel	1828
*Cutler, Nathan	1828	*Fessenden, T.A.D.	1865
*Cutter, William	1831	†Fessenden, Jos. P.	1869
		Field, Edward M.	1869
*Dana, John W.	1846	*Fisher, Jonathan	1830
*Dana, Judah		Fiske, John O,	1859
*Dane, Joseph		*Folsom, George	1831
Danforth, Charles	1872	Fox, Edward	1850
Davis, George T.	1873	*Freeman, Charles	1846
*Davis, Woodbury	1866	*Frothingham, Wm.	1822
*Daveis, Chas. S.	1828	*Fuller, Henry W.	1828
*Deane, John G.	1828		
*Deblois, Thos. A.	1834	*Gardiner, R. H.	
Deering, Nathaniel	1846	Gardiner, R. H. jr.	1868
Dike, Samuel F.	1864	†Gardiner, Fred.	1849
Donnell, Jotham	1866	*Gillett, Eliphalet	
*Downes, George	1846	Gilman, Charles J.	1864
*Dunlap, Robert P.	1828	Gilman, John T.	1846
*Dummer, Charles	1862	Godfrey, John E.	1865
Duren, Elnathan F.	1867	†Goodwin, Dan'l R.	1851
*Dwight, Wm. T.	1834	*Goodenow, Daniel	1846
		*Goodenow, Robt.	1846
*Eastman, Philip	1846	*Goodenow, Wm.	1846
Eaton, Cyrus	1859	Goold, William	1873
Elder, Jairus G.	1867	Granger, Joseph	1865

DATE OF FLECT.		DATE OF ERECT.	
*Granger, Daniel T.	1846	Keeley, Geo. W.	1849
*Greeley, Allen	1822	†Kellogg, Elijah, jr.	1846
*Greene, Benj.	1822	*Kellogg, Elijah	1830
*Greenleaf, Jon'than	1822	Kent, Edward	1831
*Greenleaf, Moses	1822	*Kingsbery, Sanford	
*Greenleaf, Simon	1830	*King, William	
*Groton, Nathaniel	1846		
		*Ladd, Wm.	1836
Hackelton, Jas. H.	1873	Lapham, Wm. B.	1872
Haines, W. P.	1849	*Leland, Joseph W.	1846
*Hamlin, Elijah L.	1859	*Libby, Joseph	1846
†Harris Samuel	1867	Lincoln, John D.	1868
*Hasey, Benjamin		*Lincoln, Enoch	
Hathaway, J. W.	1873	*Lincoln, Isaac	
*Hathaway, Joshua W.	1828	*Lincoln, Theodore	1822
*Hayes, Wm. A.		*Little, Josiah S.	1846
Hayes, Charles W.	1872	†Locke, John L.	1859
*Hayes, David	1846	†Lockwood, A. D.	1868
†Hedge, Fred. H.	1839	*Longfellow, Stephen	
†Hitchcock, R. D.	1854	†Longfellow, H. W.	1831
†Hodgdon, John	1846	Longfellow, Alex. W.	1873
*Holmes, Ezekiel	1846	*Loomis, Harvey	1822
*Holmes, John		*Ludwig, Moses R.	1866
†Hopkins, Samuel	1870	Lynch, John	1868
Howard, Joseph	1846		
*How, Nathaniel	1828	*Mann, Ariel	
Humphrey, S. F.	1872	*McGaw, Jacob	
*Hurd, Carlton	1830	*McIntire, Rufus	1828
*Hyde, Zina	1846	*McKeen, James	1828
		*McKeen, John	1828
†Ilsley, Charles P.	1846	*McKeen, Joseph	1822
*Ilsley, Isaac	1828	*McLellan, Judah	1828
Ingalls, Henry	1870	†McKenzie, Alex.	1864
*Ingalls, Theodore	1849	*Mellen, Prentiss	
		*Mellen, Grenville	1828
Jackson, G. E. B.	1866	*Merrick, John	
*Jarvis, Leonard		†Moody, Isaiah P.	1846
Jewett, Theodore H.	1865	Morrill, Lot M.	1856
*Johnson, Samuel	1824	Mussey, John	1870
*Johnson, Alfred, jr.	1822		
		*Nason, Reuben	1828
*Kavanagh, Edw'd	1831	Neeley, Henry A.	1868

DATE OF ELECT.		DATE OF FLECT.	
*Newman, Sam'l P.	1822	*Quinby, Moses	1846
*Nichols, Ichabod			
North, James W.	1861	*Randall, Benj.	1846
Nourse, Amos	1846	*Redington, Asa jr.	1828
*Nourse, Peter	1822	Rice, Richard D.	1859
		*Richardson, H. L.	1849
*O'Brien, John M.	1846	*Robbins, A. C.	1851
O'Brien, O. St. C.	1873	Roberts, Chas. W.	1872
*Orr, Benjamin		*Robinson, Sylv. W.	1828
*Otis, John	1846	*Rose, Daniel	
		Rowe, James S.	1846
*Packard, Hezekiah		*Ruggles, John	1846
Packard, Alpheus S.	1828	*Russell, Edward	
*Packard, Charles	1828		
†Paine, Henry W.	1851	†Sabine, Lorenzo	1846
*Paine, William	1846	†Sawtelie, Cullen	1845
†Palmer, Ray	1846	*Seaver, Josiah W.	
Palfrey, Cazneau	1851	*Selden, Calvin	1828
*Parker, James		*Sewall, David	
*Parris, Albion K.		*Sewall, Joseph	1822
†Pattison, Robt. E.	1839	*Sewall, Wm. B.	1830
*Payne, Lemuel	1828	Sewall, John S.	1869
*Payson, Edward		Sewall, Wm. D.	1869
†Peck, Isaac	1831	Sewall, Jotham B.	1865
Perham, Sidney	1872	Sewall, Rufus K.	1858
†Perry, W. Stevens	1862	Sewall, Fred. D.	1861
Peters, John A.	1866	*Severance, Luther	1846
†Pierce, Josiah, jr.	1865	*Shepard, George	1828
Pierce, Lewis	1869	*Sheppard, John H.	1828
*Pierce, Geo. W.	1834	*Simonton, Putnam	1849
*Pierce, Josiah	1846	*Smith, S. E.	
*Pomeroy, Swan L.	1828	*Smith, John	1830
*Pond, Samuel M.	1830	†Smith, Joseph E.	1864
Pond, Enoch	1846	*Smith, Wm. B.	1864
*Poor, John A.	1846	Sheldon, David N.	1849
*Porter, Rufus K.	1830	Shepley, Geo. F.	1851
*Potter, Barrett	1834	†Shepley, David	1834
*Preble, Edward D.	1834	Shepley, Ether	
*Preble, Wm. P.		†Shepley, Samuel H.	1847
*Prentiss, Henry E.	1870	*Smyth, Wm.	1830
*Preston, Warren	1828	*Soule, Charles	1846
		†Southgate, Wm. S	1851

DATE OF ELECT.		DATE OF ELECT.	
†Sprague, Peleg		*Virgin, Peter C.	1846
*Stebbens, Josiah	1822	*Vose, Richard H.	1846
Storer, Seth	1846	*Walker, Joseph	1846
†Swallow, Geo. C.	1846	*Ware, Ashur	
Swan, Charles E.	1866	*Warren, Eben. T.	
*Swan, Joshua A.	1864	*Warren, Henry	1828
		Washburn, Israel, jr.	1864
Talbot, George F.	1867	Waterman, John A.	1864
Tallman, Benj. F.	1868	*Wells, Geo. W.	1828
*Tappan, Benj.		Wells, Walter	1869
*Tappan, Enoch S.	1822	†Weston, Edw'd P.	1864
Tappan, Benj. jr.	1866	*Weston, Nathan, jr.	
*Tenney, John S.	1846	*Weston, Jona. D.	1828
Tenney, Albert G.	1872	Wheeler, Amos D.	1846
*Thacher, Stephen	1850	*Whitman, Ezekiel	1830
†Thacher, Peter	1846	*Whitman, Jason	1834
*Thatcher, George	1822	*Whitman, Levi	1828
*Thayer, Solomon	1828	*Willis, William	1828
Thomas, W. W., jr.	1870	Williams, Joseph H.	1864
*Thurston, David	1846	*Williams, Reuel	
*Thurston, Eli	1846	Williams, Daniel	1831
*Tilton, Nathan	1830	Williamson, Joseph	1850
Titcomb, Joseph	1869	*Williamson, W. D.	
Torsey, Henry P.	1854	*Wilson, John	
†True, N. T.	1861	*Wingate, Joshua	
*Tyler, Bennett	1828	Witherlee, Wm. H.	1868
		*Wood, Wilmot	1846
*Upham, Thos. C.	1828	*Woodhull, Richard	1846
		*Woodman, J. C.	1846
Varney, George J.	1873	Woods, Leonard, jr.	1839
*Vaughan, Benj.		Woods, Noah	1872
*Vaughan, John A.	1831		

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

CATALOGUE OF MEMBERS.

- P. 5.—Rev. Jonathan Cogswell was born in Rowley, Mass.
Leonard Jarvis, Esq., was born in Cambridge, Oct. 19, 1781, and died Sept. 18, 1854.
- P. 7.—Rev. Wm. Frothingham was born March 14, 1777, and died at the age of 75.
Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf died April 24, 1865.
Moses Greenleaf was born Oct 17, 1778, and died March 20, 1834.
Rev. Harvey Loomis died very suddenly Jan. 2, 1825.
- P. 8.—Judah McLellan, Esq., died in 1864, aged 85.
For Payne Lemuel, read Paine.
Rev. Swan L. Pomroy was born in Warwick, Mass.
Warren Preston, Esq., was born in Uxbridge, Mass., Dec. 21, 1783, and died July 1, 1861, aged 78.
- P. 9.—Jona. D. Weston, Esq., died in October, 1834, aged 52.
Samuel M. Pond, Esq., died in 1849.
Rev. John Smith was born in Belchertown, Mass., March 5, 1766, and died April 14, 1831, aged 65.
Solomon Adams was born in Middleton, Mass., March 30, 1797, and died July 20, 1870, in the 74th year of his age.
- P. 10.—Rev. William Farmer was born in Townsend, Mass., Feb. 24, 1793, and died June 24, 1862, aged 69.
Rev. Robert E. Pattison was born in Benson, Vt., August 19, 1800, and died Nov. 21, 1874, aged 74.
John Anderson, Esq., died Aug. 21, 1853.
- P. 11.—Samuel Farrar was born in Portsmouth, N. H., Dec. 28, 1805, and died Dec. 6, 1862, aged 57.

- P. 12.—John Ruggles, Esq., was born in October, 1869, and died June 20, 1874, in the 85th year of his age.
Lorenzo Sabine was born in Lisbon, N. H., Feb. 28, 1808.
- P. 13.—Dr. Putnam Simonton was born at Camden, Me., Sept. 12, 1812, and died Feb. 13, 1870, in the 58th year of his age.
- P. 14.—Cyrus Eaton died Jan. 21, 1875, aged 91.
Rev. John L. Locke was born in Belfast, Me., July 6, 1832.
- P. 15.—For Jairus G. Elder, read Janus G. Elder.
- P. 16.—For Henry A. Neeley, read Henry A. Neely.
- P. 17.—Our brother William Gookl asserts his right to be denominated a farmer. He was born April 13, 1809, and lives on the paternal acres.
- P. 18.—For * Alexander H. Bache, read * Alexander D. Bache * 1867.
For S. G. Drake, read * Samuel G. Drake * 1875.
John Farmer died in 1838.
- P. 19.—For J. D. Graham, read * James D. Graham * 1865.
For Henry A. Haynes, read Henry W. Haynes.
For Samuel A. Greene, read Samuel A. Green.
For George F. Houghton, read * George F. Houghton.
Usher Parsons died in 1868.
- P. 20.—For Alexandre Vattemare, read * Alexandre Vattemarc.
For William A. Wheeler, read * William A. Wheeler * 1874.
For John E. Locke, read * John E. Locke * 1875.

